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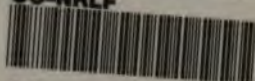
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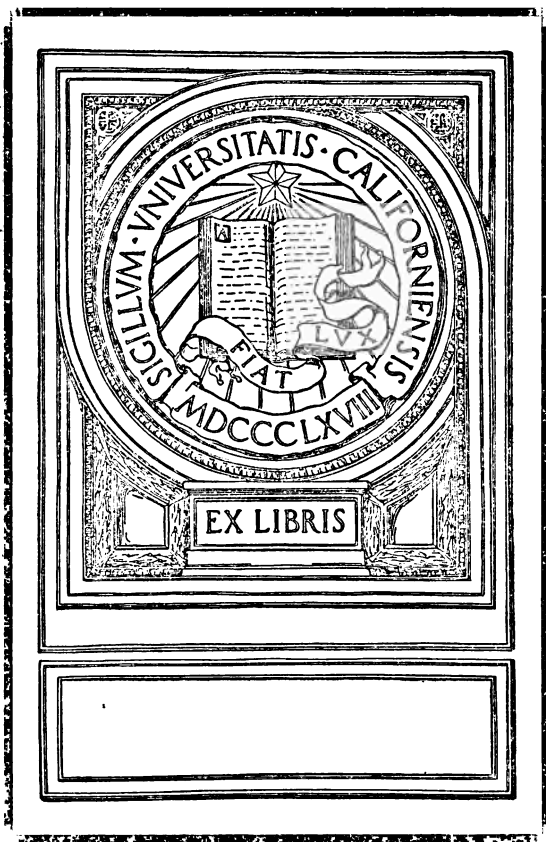
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*Wm. H. Kimball. Sept 1844*  
THE  
*Calvin Colton, Calvin*

# JUNIUS TRACTS.

CONSISTING OF

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NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY GREELEY & McELRATH,

TRIBUNE BUILDINGS, 160, NASSAU STREET.

1844.

Price, 25 cents single, or \$16 per 100.

[Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1844, by CALVIN COLTON, in the Clerk's office of the District Court of the United States, in and for the Southern District of New York.]

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Look at the BOTTOM for paging of the SERIES.

The following is an extract from a CIRCULAR published in 1843:—

New York, July, 1843.

SIR :

The *New York Whig Tract Committee*, organized to promote the dissemination of suitable Tracts for the next Presidential Campaign, respectfully solicit your personal co-operation. The committee are induced to believe, that a general, united, well sustained, systematic, and *seasonable* effort of this kind, will be of great importance to the Whig cause.

With the great Statesman of the West as our leader, and with the principles he holds in common with the Whig party inscribed on our banner, we may confidently expect to find the people of the country *with us* in 1844, as they were in 1840. It only requires that we be faithful and prompt in setting before them the *facts and reasons* that should govern us all.

The Committee herewith send a specimen or two of a series of Tracts by "JUNIUS," author of "*the Crisis of the Country*" in 1840, and take leave to urge upon yourself and your political associates, a prompt adoption of measures to obtain and circulate them among the people of your neighborhood, parish, town, and county. The Committee would suggest the expediency of forming Sub-committees, and establishing *Dépôts*, as centres of information and organs of distribution, where Tracts and other publications can always be had. The Tracts by "*Junius*," which the Committee especially recommend, can be had in any quantity, by orders, with remittances, direct on GREELEY & McELRATH, *Tribune Office, New York*.

To reap, we must sow.

In behalf of the *New York Whig Tract Committee*, very respectfully your obedient servants,  
HAMILTON FISH, *Chairman*.

A. W. BRADFORD, *Secretary*.

The following is part of a CIRCULAR, from the same Committee in 1844:—

New York, January, 1844.

The *New York Whig Tract Committee* would respectfully suggest to their fellow laborers in the Whig cause, whether it would not be well to undertake, by a *systematic effort*, to put the TRACTS of *Junius*, or such of them as are best fitted for particular localities, *into the hands of every voter who may be willing to read them*. The expense is so small that most people would buy them, if they had a chance, and a part of the funds raised for the cause, might be well applied for gratuitous distribution among those who only require information to be induced to vote the Whig Ticket. If the various Whig organizations of the States, counties, and towns, would establish *Dépôts*, have an adequate supply of the Tracts constantly on hand, and take pains to accomplish the ends suggested, it is believed, that much the largest part of the expense would be defrayed by an actual sale to those who would be glad to purchase them. In this way, it would not only be practicable, but easy, to send these Tracts to every Log Cabin in the land.

HAMILTON FISH, *Chairman*.

A. W. BRADFORD, *Secretary*.

It is respectfully suggested, that Whig booksellers, and other merchants, throughout the Union, might do much for the dissemination of these documents, by keeping them on hand for sale.

THE  
JUNIUS TRACTS.

No. I.

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[MARCH.]

PUBLISHED EVERY SECOND MONTH.

[1843.]

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THE TEST;

OR,

PARTIES TRIED BY THEIR ACTS.

BY JUNIUS.

Author of "THE CRISIS OF THE COUNTRY," and other Tracts, of 1840.

Price, 3 cents single, \$2 50 cts. per 100, or \$20 per 1000.

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- No. I. THE TEST, OR PARTIES TRIED BY THEIR ACTS.  
" II. THE CURRENCY.  
" III. THE TARIFF.  
" IV. LIFE OF HENRY CLAY.  
" V. POLITICAL ABOLITION.

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## THE TWENTY-SEVENTH (WHIG) CONGRESS.

*Its position.*

It was a singular one in history—perfectly so in the annals of this country. The Government had been for a long time in the hands of their political opponents, till a once prosperous nation had been reduced to an extremity of misfortune, and rose at last to demand a change in public policy. With a majority unparalleled, the Whigs came into power, and a suffering people looked to them for relief. It was fair they should, for it had been promised, though the expectations of immediate result were doubtless unreasonable.

*The first inauspicious blow.*

None can deny that the death of their Chieftain was an astounding event. It was striking the sun from the political heaven.

*The second blow.*

The constitutional successor was little known, altogether untried, and was never expected to be called to that place. Diffidence towards him was the first state of feeling; concern the next; which ended in utter and hopeless disappointment. All know how that turned out; and we need not dwell on the painful history.

*An unforeseen result.*

In the constitution of our Government, the Executive occupies a commanding position in relation to the other branches. It seems never to have been anticipated, that he could be opposed to the legislature appointed by the same constituency, nor would such an event occur, if good faith in these high relations could at all times be relied on. It is manifest, however, that an Executive, not acting in harmony with the legislative branch of the Government, but opposing it, is a derangement of the machinery as to its intended operation. His power is sufficient to paralyze legislation, and to nullify any system of policy aimed to be established by legislative functions.

*A thing to be considered.*

Since it has been discovered, that the second on the Presidential ticket of 1840, who succeeded as principal by the death of the Chief, is *not* the man he was taken for, but utterly opposed to the great and leading principles of the party that raised him to power—if he has any principles at all—it *must be considered*, that the legislative branch of the Government, the majority of whom were *true* to those principles, were rendered powerless as to that system of policy that was designed to be established by the political revolution of 1840.

*The question to be tried.*

It will follow, therefore, that the 27th Congress cannot fairly be put on trial for not having done impossibilities, but only for what they *could* do and *have* done, under the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, to redeem the pledges by which they were bound.

*The difficulties of the Whig Congress.*

In the grave of General Harrison was buried the Whig administration. Could any one expect, that the effects of many years misrule could be repaired in *thirty days*? There was not time to begin to do it, before the adverse winds of Executive power were blowing strong against the tide of reform. Treason was hatched, and began to peep and strut abroad, before the successor of the Fallen had been in his seat ten days.

*Another difficulty.*

The expectations of the nation were great, and the people demanded relief speedily, earlier than in any case it could possibly be obtained. A country which for an eighth of a century had been operated upon by causes of ruin, till it was prostrate, could not be raised again suddenly.

*Another.*

Nor was it possible for Congress alone to do the work, against a plotting, sub-

verting, thwarting, and opposing Executive. They were paralyzed, and their power of restoring public prosperity was stricken down. Even their investigating committees, whose functions were designed to ferret out corruption, were met at the threshold of their undertaking by the agents and abettors of corruption, who held in their hands the keys of the knowledge that was sought for, and whom the Executive still retained in their places, thus refusing to furnish the necessary facilities of reform. Deep and large as the fountains of corruption that have been laid open, are, it is believed that most of them, by this cause, yet lie concealed.

### *The difficulties encountered on the currency question.*

All know that this was the question on which the country had been wrecked, that it was the *great* question. And all know with what patience, self-torture, and self-immolation, the Whigs of the 27th Congress waded through the Extra Session, struggling with ceaseless though useless endeavour, to save the party and the country from such unexampled perfidy. Giving up half, or more than half, and trying in every possible way to surmount the doom that was cast in their face, *once, twice*, were their large concessions baffled by the arbitrary interposition of the veto power. What they could, they *attempted*; what they could, they *did*.

"Who does the best his circumstance allows,  
Does well, acts nobly, angels could no more."

### *The Exchequer.*

And why did not the Whigs of the 27th Congress adopt that? Can it have been forgotten, with what argument and eloquence the vices and tendencies of the Subtreasury, political and other, were denounced by the Whigs in the campaign of 1840, and how their reasons prevailed with the people? Is it not in equally vivid remembrance, that the Subtreasury was repealed by popular demand and acclamation, as conceded by its friends and advocates? But the Whigs believe, and have demonstrated, in the report of the Committee of Ways and Means, contemporaneous with the vote of 193 to 18, which sealed the doom of the Exchequer—in that document they have *demonstrated*, that it has all the vices of the Subtreasury, and many more to boot; that it is the most hideous government bank scheme that could well be conceived; that, if carried into effect, it would enhance Executive power to an extent hazardous to liberty; and that, in the hands of an unprincipled, aspiring Executive, of strong and influential character, it might be seized upon for the overthrow of all liberty, and for the establishment of despotism. It is futile to rely on the power of repeal, when the whole history of our Government shows, that the Executive will can defeat any movement in the form of legislation. The people cannot contend against this "fixed Constitutional fact," except by a revolution; and the only safe way is to keep out of its power.

The Whigs, with good reason and sound argument, had denounced the Subtreasury as a Government Bank in embryo, while it was in the process of incubation, and opposed it as such when it was hatched, and *because* it was such—*because*, confessedly, it provided a good currency for office-holders, *but for them only*, and left a bad currency for the people. How, then, could they, in the face of such facts, and in fealty to the principles avowed by them in 1840—principles so often and so widely promulgated, and still maintained—how could they adopt the *same* institution—*identically* the same, except that it was presented in a perfect stage of maturity, and therefore in its most objectionable form?

### *But what is a Government Bank?*

It is Government stepping aside from its appropriate functions, and setting up in trade; for banking is nothing more or less than trading in money. It is, so far, laying aside the proper uses of Government, and usurping the rights of citizens—commercial rights. A Government managing banking concerns, is a Commercial Factory. No Government ever went into trade, in money or any thing else, without injury to the rights of citizens; or with gain to itself, except in the augmentation of its power, which is always its object. It is sure to sacrifice the commercial capital invested.

### *The insurmountable objection.*

It is a very important point of difference, that a Government Bank has no Master.

because it is a part of Government, and an arm of its power; whereas all other banks have a Master *in* the Government. A national Government Bank, to answer the purposes of such an institution, aims to regulate and control the currency of the country, and in doing that, it—that is, the Government—brings within its power, to deal with at pleasure, every possible commercial or trading interest of the country, from that of banking in general, down to the vocation of a grinder of knives or a retailer of brickdust. It would be a supreme commercial power, in the hands of the supreme political power, controlled by none, but controlling all, itself master in trade, and master of the authorities under which all trade is carried on. This is the sort of thing which the 27th Congress rejected—*spurned*, as in duty bound, if they would respect themselves, and have the respect of the American people.

#### THE EXTRAVAGANCE AND CORRUPTION OF THE LATE ADMINISTRATION.

We begin with Congress, where reform in Government must first begin, if it begins at all. The people will doubtless be astonished at the extravagancies of this body for a few years past, in the administration of its own internal economy, and at the corruption practised and tolerated in its own bosom. Could a body, practising such things, and conniving at such things, be expected to institute reform for other departments of the government?

#### *Cost of the printing, binding, engraving, and lithographing of Congress.*

This is, in any case, a large item of expense. The subject had been under investigation for two or three years, having been started by the Whigs while in the minority, and in 1842 much information appeared in the form of Congressional reports, to which we are indebted for the following results:

It was found upon investigation, that the average annual expenses, under the above general head, were \$261,459, and that the average annual saving under the new system, proposed and recommended by the Committees, would be \$132,761; and consequently, that the average annual unnecessary expense, or *waste* in this item, is equal to this saving, viz. \$132,761. (See Senate Doc. No. 332, 2d Sess. 27th Congress.) In other words, the waste is 50 per cent. on the cost. That is to say, the Government not only permitted such extravagance to grow up in its own domicile, not only tolerated it for a long succession of years, but sanctioned it by solemn acts of legislation, to provide for it.

#### *Contingent expenses of Congress.*

This is an atrocious item in the history of the past, and shows how little dependence could be placed in a national legislature for general economy and purity, that would be guilty of such a lack of both these useful qualities in the management of their own household.

The custom of supplying members of Congress with stationery, &c., or the custom of members voting themselves a supply out of the people's money, on a *reasonable* scale, might not be very objectionable. It would be thought mean to oppose it, though when well paid, they might as well afford to provide for themselves as the people do in their own case. But the extent of wasteful prodigality to which this custom at last arrived, will no doubt awaken some surprise in the minds of the people who paid for it all, and whose private habits of economy in such matters, are somewhat different.

For stationery used by the 25th Congress, the first under Mr. Van Buren, we find such items as the following in the report of one of the Committees on retrenchment (by Mr. Summers), 2d Session, 27th Congress, House Doc. No. 30:

For 3,079 reams envelope paper, . . .	\$12,603 25	For wafers, . . . . .	\$1,332 01
" 3,610 do. quarto post, . . .	21,059 25	" ink, 15 barrels, . . .	528 50
" 2,316 do. foolscap, . . .	9,961 25	" inkstands, . . . . .	921 06
" 172 do. note, . . . . .	1,559 50	" seals, . . . . .	1,060 00
" 493 gross of steel pens, . . .	4,569 39	" pencils, . . . . .	563 00
" 83,700 quills, . . . . .	3,953 12	" folders, . . . . .	615 00
" making of pens, . . . . .	448 00	" twine, . . . . .	312 72
" sealing-wax, . . . . .	3,931 62	" 1,197 memorandum books, . .	746 87
" tape, . . . . .	2,739 30		
" 106 doz. penknives, . . . .	2,602 00	Total, . . . . .	\$69,514 78

Which, divided among 242 members of the House, shows, that the cost for stationery, for each member of the 25th Congress, for a period usually about nine months, was \$287.25.

How much is the average annual cost to professional men, lawyers, for example, for the above-named articles of stationery? The writer of this Tract thinks his occasions for these may perhaps be equal to those of a member of Congress, and he believes they do not cost him over \$20 a year—for nine months \$15—which leaves \$272.25 for each member of the House of Representatives, in the 25th Congress, unaccounted for to the people—in all \$65,884.78—a pretty round sum of waste for one branch of the national legislature, on the above-named articles.

How many penknives did they use severally? Divide 106 dozen, or 1272, by 242, and we have the answer thus—5 $\frac{6}{106}$ . The average price of these penknives, it will be seen, was \$2.04 and a fraction each, which, of course, makes a bill of a little less than \$12, to supply each member of the 25th Congress in penknives for nine months. His sealing-wax cost somewhat over \$16; his quarto post paper, \$80 and some cents; *and so on.*—We leave the rest with the curious.

We suppose the excessive price of these articles results in the same way, by which the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the same Congress, Mr. Garland, contracted with a favorite of the President, Editor of "The Democratic Review," to furnish stationery to the amount of \$25,000, whereon the said favorite cleared a profit of \$7,000 to himself, *over and above a fair profit* in trade, as was proved and reported to the 27th Congress. In this way, of course, a penknife, which, in a fair market, costs \$1.50, would cost the people over \$2; and so with all the other articles. But when there happen to be two intermediate agents, each to make an *extra* profit of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. on the same articles, that helps to run up a bill fast. It would be difficult to account for these bills, except in such ways.

It appears from Mr. Summers' Report, before referred to, that the whole contingent expenses of the House of Representatives rose from \$106,000, in the 18th Congress, till they attained a maximum in the 25th Congress, of \$595,000, increasing nearly 6 to 1 in sixteen years.

It also appears, that the contingent expenses of the Senate for the year 1838, under Mr. Van Buren, were, *greater*, by the sum of \$86,000, than for 1828, under Mr. J. Q. Adams; and *greater*, by \$24,000, than for the whole *four years*, under Mr. Adams. A like result turns up in comparing the contingent expenses of the House for the same periods; viz. that the *aggregate*, during Mr. Adams's *four years*, was *less*, by \$89,000, than the same item for the *one year*, 1838, under Mr. Van Buren. (Compare No. 17, House Doc. 1st Sess. 26th Congress, with No. 39, House Doc. 1st Sess. 24th Congress.)

#### FINANCIAL PRODIGALITIES OF THE FLORIDA WAR.

The profuse and wasteful expenditures of public money, as partially disclosed under this head, and one or two others, might *alone* account for the startling expenses of Government during the two administrations preceding the one now current, as compared with our former financial history and the level of public expenditures as reduced by the 27th Congress. We have room only for a few quotations from the volumes of public documents on this and other kindred topics, which may serve as a clue to the rest.

#### *Extravagant hire of steamboats and other vessels.*

From the beginning of 1836 to 1841, the number of steamboats and sail craft employed in the transportation service for the Florida war, was 737, for which a very extravagant hire was generally paid. About *fifty* of these are named in House Document No. 458, 2d Session 27th Congress, and their rates of hire specified. We give the following as specimens:—The steamboat, John Crowell, estimated to be worth \$15,000, was hired at \$800 a day, provided for and insured, till the compensation amounted to \$82,555. The Reindeer, 42 days, at \$175 a day—being \$7,350. The Georgiana, 32 days, at \$200 a day—\$6,400. The Charleston, 10 months, at \$4,400 a month—\$44,000. The Mobile was paid \$11,625 for 25 days. The Minerva, 73 days, at \$300 a day—\$21,900. The Merchant, 85 days, at \$450 a day—\$38,250.

Many other vessels were hired for short periods, at *rates*, which, on settlement,

*quadrupled* the price at which they might have been purchased in the outset, so that much money would have been saved, if they had been bought and manned, and then burnt in the end.

### *The cost of a wagon.*

Grant's concentric wheel wagon cost the Government \$2,363.50, of which Mr. Grant was paid \$654.50 for superintending the construction of it, and \$15 was paid for engraving plates on the wheels, to travel in the sands of Florida. *Ibid.*

### *Cost of 206 oxen.*

The purchase and delivery of 206 oxen was made to cost \$12,187.20—for the oxen, \$9,170.00; to the agent, \$1,960.00; and for expenses in the transaction, \$1,037.20. *Ibid.*

### *Cost of house-rent and saddles.*

A house at Picolata was rented at \$3,600 a year. For 30 saddles, \$50 each was paid. For 12 do. \$37.50 each. *Ibid.*

At Pilatka, in 1840, when the end of the war was every day expected, more than \$100,000 was expended in public buildings, *on private lands*, when there was government land hard by. It is of course sacrificed.

### *Probable collusion in fraud on the public.*

The foregoing items of extravagance are hastily selected from heaps of evidence of the same class brought before the 27th Congress, by which it is proved, that the Florida war was generally carried on, in whole and in particular, at a rate of most astounding prodigality. All the public agents in these transactions, from the Treasury Department at Washington, down to the last recipient of the public money, were perfectly familiar with this daily round of facts, for a course of years. Can it be imagined, that in any state of society, however corrupt, such extravagance and waste would be tolerated, under the eyes of so many agents, if there was no *collusion* among them, and if they did not *all* profit more or less by it? Do not these facts reasonably account for the protracted period of that war, when so much money was to be made out of it by all engaged?

### *Great frauds in the removal of Indians.*

The removal of 16,533 Creek Indians was made to cost the Government \$590,448.58. It is proved pretty fairly, by the Committee on Public Expenditures, that these 16,533 Indians *might* have been removed for \$186,530, thus making a clear saving, in this single transaction, *honestly done*, of \$303,909.42—nearly two thirds of the actual cost. (Doc. No. 458.)

It is proved in House Document No. 454, 2d Sess. 27th Congress, that Captain Buckner was paid \$37,749 for *doing nothing*, after having been paid a very exorbitant price for what he *did* do, in removing Indians;—and the most remarkable part of the disclosure is, that a high public functionary received \$18,000 of this as a loan from Capt. Buckner, *apparently* for his company and presence at the Treasury Department when the requisition was being made out. Whether such company *silenced* the scruples of the Auditor, this deponent cannot say. The evidence before the Committee standeth thus: Witness (Capt. Buckner) asked—"What he could do for him?" Ans. "Witness could loan him some money. Whereupon witness agreed to loan him \$18,000."

All these accounts were allowed at the Treasury Department!

It is also proved that Captain Collins was entrusted with large sums of money, as disbursing agent, to the aggregate of \$582,290, *after* he had proved himself a defaulter to one-third of this amount, and that the Government lost by him in the end the sum of \$215,369. If settlements had been insisted on according to law, it would have been impossible, in any case of the most wilful fraud, to lose more than a small fraction of this amount.—(See No. 453, House Doc., 2d Sess., 27th Congress.)

### *Remarks on these facts.*

Speaking *moderately*, it may be presumed, from the volumes of evidence of this description that have been filed by the 27th Congress, that by an honest and prudent administration of these affairs, the Florida war might have been brought to a close, and the Indian tribes all removed, *at one half the actual cost to the country*. Moreover, from what has transpired, there is also a reasonable presumption that the *period* of the Florida war might have been abridged by several years.

Can any one suppose there was *no collusion, no connivance* among those who had the responsibility in these great concerns, for the advantage, pecuniary or political, that might accrue to them personally? With some the profit was pecuniary, with others political.

### *Defalcation and frauds under the Subtreasury system.*

We mean the system of entrusting the public funds in the hands of individuals, instead of keeping them in banks. It is not easy to collect an exact account of this, but from the reports of Mr. Secretary Woodbury—a reluctant witness—of 1834, 1838, and 1839, on this subject, we obtain the following result from his somewhat mystified statements, in connexion with other facts that have transpired, viz:—that the Government, since its foundation, had lost by *banks*, \$857,890.85; and by *individuals*, in the various forms of trust, about \$15,000,000.

It is now ascertained, that the loss by individuals in Mr. Van Buren's four years, as the result of his system of Subtreasury, was about \$5,000,000, if we include what has since been developed under the operation of that system, and through his appointees; whereas, the first *Whig* defalcator in public trust, for two years, is yet to be found out. The annual aggregate of frauds, therefore, of Mr. Van Buren's Subtreasury system, may be put down at \$1,250,000. The annual aggregate of like frauds by the Whigs, so far as has transpired—0.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the account between the Government and the United States Bank, as to loss and profit in all transactions for forty years, stands thus:—Loss to Government—0; profit to Government—\$1,100,000, for premium on stocks, besides dividends, and the gratuitous functions of the bank as fiscal agent of the Government for the said forty years.

### *A recollection.*

All must remember the disclosures forced from Mr. Secretary Woodbury, under the late administration, regarding the frequency, character, and great amount of defalcations under the Subtreasury, and the concurrent proofs brought before the public of Executive indulgence towards the offenders, in continuing them in office after their defalcations were proved—all for *partisan, political objects*.

### *Frauds in the New York Custom House.*

The enormities that have been practised in this "Seat of Customs," are prodigious. The defalcations of Swartwout, Hoyt, & Co.—amounting to about *one million and a half*, seem to have veiled the *minor* frauds. In three years, 1838, '39, and '40, George A. Wasson received \$94,430.92 for cartage and labor—nearly half for cartage—effected chiefly by charging for each package, 31½ to 50 cents, which was the price for a *load*—in that way making a load run up to *five or ten* dollars, according to the number of packages. The Stationery and printing, under Mr. Hoyt, for 1838, '39, '40, and 1st quarter of 1841, cost \$51,703.22—averaging \$275.76 a year to each person employed, being nearly *double* the average cost of stationery for each member of the House of Representatives in the 25th Congress, that being \$287 for 2 years. It was by allowing \$22 a gross for steel pens, when they could be bought for \$1.50; \$3.50 a peck for sand, the fair price being 12½ cents; \$80 a ream for paper, worth \$15; \$12 for 1 card of Perryan pens, or \$1.50 for each pen; &c. &c. &c. No difficulty in making it up in that way.

The revenue collected in the first year of Jonathan Thompson, 1825, was \$15,754,827; employed 142 men, at a cost of \$211,471; or at the rate of 1 34-100 per cent. The revenue collected by Mr. Hoyt, in 1840, was \$7,591,760; men employed 470, at a cost of \$563,829; or at the rate of 7 42-100 per cent.

In addition to the Collector's Salary, Mr. Hoyt, in violation of law, as alleged by the Committee on Public Expenditures, took to himself, in all, \$29,833.36 for *storage* of Merchandise in buildings rented on *his private account*, while the Government is charged \$29,994.24 for salaries of storekeeper, clerks, and inspectors, and for stationery, employed and used in said buildings.

Mr. Hoyt was reported to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury, as a defaulter for \$26,295.31. But Mr. Hoyt, anticipating this, charged the Government (with his own hand, his clerk refusing) \$901,580, that is, 1 per cent, on \$90,158,000 paid over by him to the orders of the Secretary of the Treasury—that is, 1 per cent, for the banking part of the Collector's functions.

In two years and four months, Mr. Butler, District Attorney, was paid by Mr. Hoyt, Collector, for services, \$62,690.50. Mr. Hoyt's gleanings, it would seem, were somewhat less than a *quarter of a million* for about three years service. (House Docs. Nos. 202 & 669, 2d Sess. 27th Cong.)

We are sorry to observe, that the present Executive has in nowise *abated* the extravagancies of the New York Custom House.

### *Public buildings.*

In 1836 Congress authorized the erection of a new Patent Office, the expense of which should not exceed \$108,000. It is now expected it will cost, when finished, between \$600,000 and \$700,000. The Custom House at Boston was begun under a provision not to cost over \$54,000.

It has already cost \$696,000, and will require \$156,000 more to finish it. The New York Custom House was begun with an appropriation of \$200,000, and has cost over \$1,100,000. [For more of the kind, see No. 460, House Doc. 2d Sess. 27th Congress.]

#### *The Branch Mints.*

These were designed, especially the one at New Orleans, to make Gold flow up the Mississippi. It seems they have rather tended to make it flow out into the Sea. That at New Orleans cost \$554,470. The three branches cost \$822,457. They were established in 1838, and previous to 1842 had coined \$2,884,708. The Philadelphia Mint cost \$209,230, and in 1836 alone coined \$7,764,900. The cost of coining at the branch mints has been 28 cents and 3 mills for each dollar. The cost of coining at Philadelphia 13 cents and 9 mills for one hundred dollars.

Items expended on the New Orleans Mint:—\$8,099 for 4 bath-houses, flagging yard, and paving side-walk; \$3,846 for paving yard; \$1,700 for 7 baths and 1 water closet; \$818 for finishing water closets; &c. &c. The voucher list of expenditures, numbering 272, is a curiosity—especially edifying to those who pay for it. [House Doc. No. 462, 2d Sess. 27th Congress.]

#### *Frauds in contracts for mail bags, blanks, &c.*

From House Doc. No. 999, 2d Session, 27th Congress, it appears, that the cost of mail bags, from 1831 to 1841, was \$336,000; that Mr. Jewett, Ohio, contractor, was paid \$68,124.13 for 4,782 bags; that, in November, 1840, there were on his (Jewett's) hands 4,020 bags, not wanted, which cost \$65,000; that a large overplus was in the hands of other contractors; that bags could be got at 50 per cent. less than was paid in those years; that, for blanks, \$300,000 was paid between 1829 and 1841, generally at about 50 per cent. more than fair price, leaving a supply on hand for twenty years to come; that storage for these surplus articles was charged and allowed; that, by these and other frauds, the expenditures of the Post Office Department were made to exceed its revenue, one year, by \$386,759.19, and another year by \$220,000, thus requiring special appropriations out of the revenue from Customs and public lands, and rolling a heavy burden on the 27th (Whig) Congress; that Cyrus Barton, Concord, N. H., for blanks, from 1836 to 1841, received \$13,927.14; Beals & Green, Boston, Mass., from 1829 to 1832, for do., received \$51,732.76; Paine & Clark, New York, from 1836 to 1841, for do. do. \$18,883.81; S. Penn, Jr. Louisville, Ky., for do. do. from 1830 to 1841, \$26,942.58; S. Medary, Columbus, Ohio, in 1836, for do. do. \$17,546.34; &c. &c. &c.

All these, and other like favors, "for being always at their post, actively engaged"—"stopping at no sacrifice that would insure success"—"in promoting the interests of the noble cause"—which "heartily entitled them to Executive favor"—&c., as stated in letters to the President. See Doc. 999, as above.

The same Committee (on Public Expenditures) speak of the establishment of many new mail routes and post offices, not required, at great expense, for the benefit of partisan favorites, and of the "deep, dark, and unfathomable sinks," out of which these facts were fished, where many more of the same kind yet abide, which could not be hooked up.

#### *Sundries of a like kind.*

From Document No. 756 of the House 2d Session, 27th Congress, it appears, that the Commissioning of Ships, and the increase of officers in the Navy, have been at the discretion of the Executive; that the expenses of the Navy had been doubled in 10 years; that naval officers had been multiplied beyond former example, without sufficient cause; that the number in 1835 was 1,051 and in 1842 was 1512, when 365, with an aggregate pay of \$350,000, were "absent on leave, or waiting orders," that is, doing nothing; that many had been thus unemployed for ten, twelve, or fourteen years, receiving pay, and being promoted.

It also appears:—That from 1834 to 1841, seventy-two naval officers, at different times, had been detailed into the "Coast Survey" service, and while thus occupied, received double pay; that the Revenue Cutter service, being at the discretion of the Executive, rose from an annual cost of \$163,755 in 1830, to \$274,803 in 1837, while the revenue collected had decreased about one third; that the expenses of the Land Office rose in one year from \$23,500 to \$108,750, and remained in 1841 at \$98,500, when the land revenue was only \$1,400,000; and that the expenses of the army had risen from \$2,100,935 in 1829, to \$4,197,028 in 1841.

#### *Extra Allowances.*

The above instance of 72 naval officers detailed into the "Coast Survey" service, with extra pay, is an example. This license, unwarranted by law, had pervaded the army and navy, and crept into other branches of the public service, to such an extent, as to amount, in the aggregate, to scarcely, if at all less than a million a year. It was a germ of corruption, of alarming growth, corresponding with the plurality system under the British Government, which the reformers of that nation are fast breaking down, and which has always been allowed to be one of the greatest enormities in the British empire.

#### *Expenditures without authority of law.*

Liberties of this kind, to a great extent, were taken, in the progress of the two administrations that preceded the present. A very licentious practice of voting large contingent funds, for the different departments of Government, had obtained, which presented temptations, and opened a floodgate of corruption, to the higher and lower public functionaries. Many hundred thousand dollars had in this way been put at the discretion of the existing Administration, no small portion

of which was squandered for most unsuitable partisan or private ends. The sacred deposits of trust funds of various descriptions, were invaded and exhausted, without sanction of law.

The new practice of having large outstanding appropriations, lying over from one year to another, which often amounted to many millions, enough in some cases for the annual expenditures of the Government, was introduced and carried on in the last two administrations, and has often been abused by applying such appropriations to objects not designated by law, at the discretion of the Administration. In this way, there was never any want of funds, when a partisan object required it, or a private whim was to be gratified, or favorites wanted patronage.

Secret and partisan emissaries were by this means sent out, under the guise of Government Agents, for this, that, or the other object, the chief errand being confidential. It was only necessary to have a nominal Government design, though unauthorized by law, to find an apology for drawing on contingent or trust funds, or on dormant outstanding appropriations. *Special Agents*, almost without number, were, from time to time, put in commission for home or foreign missions, on the basis of this practice.

Mr. George Plitt was sent abroad, as Post Office Agent, under Amos Kendall, at \$16 a day, till the expenses ran up to 9,666.64, the payment of which was sanctioned by Mr. Van Buren, as President, *without authority of law*. In the same manner three young men were sent out in 1839, by Mr. Poinsett, Secretary of War, to the Cavalry School, at Saumur, in France, and three more in 1840—all *without authority of law*. Americans sent to Europe to learn to ride and manage a horse, at the public expense, at the whim of a public functionary, and *without legislative sanction*!

An Administration partisan press also experienced the benefits of contingent and disposable funds in the hands of the Executive and his agents. In the two years of 1838 and 1839, Mr. Kendall, Post Master General, contrived to run up bills for advertising and printing in one Newspaper office, the Statesman, Columbus, Ohio, to the amount of \$9,848.21. (Blue Book.) And so it was done all over the Union, by the different Executive Departments at Washington.

#### Remark.

It should be observed, that the quotations we have made, showing extravagance and corruption in the Government, are only a few selections, extracted from voluminous and authentic public documents, furnished principally by that laborious and indefatigable Committee on Public Expenditures, whose toils in the last Congress have brought so much of hitherto concealed frauds to the light of day. The number and extent of them are hardly credible, and we regret that we have not space for more copious extracts. What we give is merely as a *peep* into the great mass, the entire of which will readily account for the extraordinary and otherwise unaccountable expenditures of the last two Administrations, *from whose books our facts and figures come*.

#### Comparative expenses of our Government at different periods.

The expenses of our Government down to the end of Mr. Jefferson's administration, appear to have been frugal and exemplary. The cost of Washington's administration, comprehending *eight years*, was *only*

	\$15,892,188
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Of John Adams's four years,	21,450,351
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Of Jefferson's eight do.,	41,300,788
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As the war with Great Britain came under Mr. Madison's terms of office, *eight years*, the expenses were of course *extraordinary*, and mounted up to \$144,684,939

Monroe's eight years,	104,463,400
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J. Q. Adams's four do.	50,501,914
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It may be thought that the expenses of Mr. Monroe's and Mr J. Q. Adams's administrations, were disproportionately large, as compared with the earlier days of the republic. But the growth of the country may account for a part of it, and the grander projects of the nation, suggested by the experience of the war, for the other part.

But it is somewhat *startling* to find the expenses of General Jackson's administration of *eight years* mounting up to \$145,792,735, being greater than the cost of Mr. Madison's eight years, which had the war with Great Britain on hand. But yet *more* startling is the announcement of the fact, that Mr. Van Buren's administration of only *four years*, cost the nation \$140,585,321. In *eight years*, at this rate, it would have been 281,170,642.

There are no *apparent* reasons, aside from the facts disclosed by the investigating Committees of the 27th Congress—nor are these *very satisfactory*—for this rapid and amazing increase of national expenditures. Besides, that the Florida war was unnecessarily protracted and unnecessarily expensive, as has been shown, by the corruption and frauds involved in it, *that*, even as it was, will not account for but a small fraction of this great excess of expenditures above all former example. And what else extraordinary was there?

*Appropriations of the 27th Congress—great reduction of expenditures.*

Appropriations are generally in excess of the expenditures, with a view of grant-



ing a liberal supply. The appropriations of the 27th Congress for 1842, being the last half of one fiscal year and the first half of another, falling in 1842, were \$21,603,784.58.

It should be observed, however, that the charges of the Post Office Department, about *four million and a half*, are a part of this appropriation, which should be deducted for a fair comparison, as the revenues and disbursements of that Department have heretofore been kept by themselves, and not reckoned with those of the Government. Nor was the debt of the District of Columbia, *one million and a half* (assumed), or the two per cent. land fund and land distribution appropriations, falling in this account, properly chargeable to this administration—all of which deducted, would reduce the appropriations for 1842 to less than *sixteen millions*.

The appropriations for the six months, between January 1, and June 30, 1843, were \$6,166,418.00; and for the fiscal year, ending June 30, 1844, they were \$16,332,837.00.

#### A comparison.

Compare the appropriations of the 27th Congress with the annual expenditures of Mr. Van Buren's administration, as reported by the Treasury Department, July 2d, 1841:—

Expenditure of 1837	-	-	-	-	-	\$37,265,037 15
" 1838	-	-	-	-	-	39,455,438 35
" 1839	-	-	-	-	-	37,614,936 15
" 1840	-	-	-	-	-	27,249,909 51
Total	-	-	-	-	-	\$140,585,321 16

The annual average of the expenditure of Mr. Van Buren's administration would be 35,146,330 29

Compare this average with the appropriations of the 27th Congress for the year ending June 30, 1844, which may fairly be taken as the level to which a Whig Congress has brought the expenses of Government, viz. \$16,332,837, which is *less*, by \$2,580,656.19, than *half* the annual average of the expenses of Mr. Van Buren's Administration; or less by \$18,813,493.29, than the entire average; or less by \$23,122,601.35 than the highest annual expenditure of Mr. Van Buren.

#### Remarks.

A RESULT AND FACT of the kind above demonstrated, needs no comment. It will fall a CHARM upon a Government-ridden, long abused, and oppressed nation, and open their eyes to the past and the future. They will see—for it is proved—that the charges brought by the Whigs in 1840, against the then existing and former Administrations, of profligacy, corruption, and prodigality, are sustained; and that the expenses of Government for many years were nearly *double*, at least *one third* greater than what was necessary.

#### Bad Stewardship.

Mr. Van Buren came into power with *six millions of dollars* in the Treasury; he took for the uses of Government the *eight millions* of United States Bank Stock that was owned by the Government; he also took the fourth instalment due to the States by the Deposit Act of 1836, which was *nine millions*; the Treasury Notes outstanding on the 4th of March, 1841, when he retired to give place to General Harrison, were somewhat over *six millions and a half*; the whole amounting to about *thirty millions*, which is the amount he expended, during his four years, in excess of the revenues of the Government.

In addition to this, the outstanding appropriations on the 4th of March, 1841, were about *twenty-nine millions*. These, of course, were so many liabilities of the Treasury, and consequently so much additional burden or debt on the incoming Administration—swelling the whole account to nearly *sixty millions*, in excess of the revenues of the period of his Administration. It is fair, however, to credit Mr. Van Buren the *nine millions* of outstanding appropriations that were imposed upon him, when he came into power, March 4, 1837. We have, then, this result, that the expenditures of Mr. Van Buren's Administration, including his appropriations thrown upon the succeeding Administration, were *fifty millions in excess* of the revenues of his term of office.

Further than this:—The conditions of the Compromise Act of 1832 were about to strike off *five millions* of revenue in 1841, and *five millions* more in 1842. Yet the Government, in full view of the excessive expenditures of the past, and of this diminishing revenue for the future, had made no provision for this extraordinary and overwhelming state of things, brought about by its own profligacy and improvidence.

It is manifest, that no Government could long maintain itself under such a stewardship; and that in our case, from the moment Mr. Van Buren took charge of our public affairs, till he resigned them, we were descending straight and rapidly into a deep gulf of debt and ruin. Indeed, our momentum downward was so great, when he gave up the reins, that it was impossible to hold up—and here we are in consequence. We should, however, have done better, if treason had not prevented.

#### An illustration.

A steward is put in charge of a large estate for a given time, with plenty of money, with a regular income from the tenants equal to all expenditures, with no incumbrances on the property, but large sums due to it and at interest, and is bound so to manage it, as to deliver it up at the end of his time, in as good a condition as it was in when he took it.

But the first thing he does, is to spend all the money left in his hands; then he calls in the debts, which were intended to remain on interest, and spends that; by want of foresight, bad management, and prodigality, the income from the farms and other property gradually falls off, and there is not enough to keep the estate in order; by the same cause this state of things waxes worse and worse, and the estate is running in debt; all his employees he indulges in the same habits of extravagance and profligacy, whose influence, coming in aid of his, helps on the general ruin; he is compelled largely to anticipate his income, and draw on the future; till at last, when the time of his stewardship has expired, the estate is deeply involved, is greatly injured by bad husbandry, the morals of the tenants are very much altered for the worse; and take it all in all, the next steward that comes, finds a hard enough task of it, to save the estate from complete ruin.

The story we have told is that of the last Administration of our national affairs.

### *Retrenchment and Reform.*

THE GRAND RESULT of reducing the appropriations to a little over sixteen millions a year, is sufficient evidence of what the 27th Congress achieved, in the way of *retrenchment and reform*. They found every department of the Government more or less ill organized, inefficient, extravagant, and corrupt, exerting a most pernicious influence on the morals of the people, and squandering the public funds by tens of thousands, and by millions. The expenditures of the Government, by such means, had been *tripled* since the administration of Mr. J. Q. Adams; but the 27th Congress, by applying the axe of retrenchment, with a salutary vengeance, brought the expenditures back again—*fully back*, if we take into consideration the growth of the country. Boldly did they take the axe in hand, right lustily did they wield it, with coats and hats off, and the result is announced to the world. They spared not the estimates sent in by the Executive Departments, but cut them down by millions.

The cases to which the knife of excision, or the grubbing tools of eradication, have been applied, are too numerous for specification in our limits. We can only speak of them generally.

Some *millions* were lopped off from the expenses of the army, by an Act which reorganised and reduced it largely, and abolished numerous sinecures, and the corrupt custom of *extra allowances*, which sometimes exceeded regular pay, and which, as a whole, were enormous. The abuses that had crept into the army, augmenting expenditures, were *flagrant and startling*. They were boldly taken in hand, and provided against for the future.

There was the Board of Navy Commissioners in their easy chairs at Washington, deteriorating the Navy every day, and wasting money in vast sums by their decisions. It was abolished; and the whole Navy Department was reorganized by an Act of Congress, introducing a new system of economy and efficiency, as well in the machinery of the Department itself, as in the various branches of the naval service—thereby retrenching from *one to two millions* in the general service, and saving *many millions* from waste.

An Act was passed amending the organization of the Civil Departments, suppressing the system of contingent and general appropriations; cutting off the power of pensioning a partisan press, by ordering the public printing to be done on contract with fair dealers, in open market; ordering purchases and other Government Jobbings, on the same principle; reducing and limiting allowances of various kinds—all *a saving of millions*.

The vast peculations and frauds in the Indian Department, Land Offices, and Custom Houses, were hunted out and reformed—an *immense saving*. The contingent expenses of Congress were cut down to an honest level, and former abuses corrected. All branches of the public service were thoroughly overhauled, examined, retrenched, and reformed—to the *saving of many millions*, as the appropriations demonstrate.

### *An instructive fact.*

If the estimates of the Executive Departments, as sent into Congress, had been taken as the rule of legislation in the appropriations, we should have been but little, if at all, better off than before. The 27th Congress thought it their duty to cut them down by *many millions*. All this will serve to convince the people how little sympathy there is in the Executive for their burdens, and that they must look to Congress, if they have a good one, for retrenchment and reform. The Executive has no interest in such operations, but the contrary. From that quarter come all abuses in the way of extravagance and corruption. At that very moment, and all the while that the 27th Congress were doing this great work for the *people*, the Executive and his pensioned press were waging a fierce and savage war against them, and denouncing them as the *enemies* of the people.

### *Private Justice.*

It is the highest praise of a Government, that it respects *private Justice*. A large national debt had been hanging over us for many years, in the form of *private claims*, which Congress after Congress had warded off, and refused to hear, lest they should have money to pay. That *appears* to have been the reason that had filled the hearts of widows, orphans, and decrepid old men, with despair for a nation's injustice. It is certain, that former Congresses found enough other ways for their money.

But the 27th Congress marched straight into these long arrears, examined the files, heard about a *thousand* cases, and granted relief in a little less than *three hundred*, which added so much to the demands on the Treasury. But it was *Just*. The appropriations for *private claims* at the last session were a little less than *one thirtieth* of the whole amount for a single year. We have not the means of exact comparison, but we think the private claims *acted* upon by the last Congress, were six, if not *ten* to one of the average of the preceding six Congresses—all which were left a debt by the preceding Administrations on the present.

### *The time occupied in the Sessions of the 27th Congress.*

It was 450 days, about sixteen months—the longest time any other American Congress ever sat, by about three months. This has been made a subject of accusation without considering, 1. That they had the *Apportionment* on a new census to fix, a work the materials of which are ten years accumulating, for which it would be no more than fair to allow *one month*. 2. That they had the *Tariff* to readjust, another accumulation of ten years, which may fairly be put down for *three months*, on account of the greatness and difficulties of the task, in the peculiar circumstances of the case. There were between *six and seven hundred* articles to legislate upon, each of which was enough for a separate bill. *Six* plans of *Tariff* were got up, *four* passed, and *two* were *vetoed*. 3. *The currency question*, which, including all the hindrances and embarrassments occasioned by the Vetoes, and the new projects in the form of Exchequer plans, probably did not consume less than *three months*. 4. For the labors in retrenchment and reform, it is proper to allow *another month*.

All these will probably be allowed to be *extraordinary*, not usually claiming the attention of Congress; and they amount altogether to *eight months*—which is half the time occupied by the three Sessions.

When, therefore, these facts are considered, in connexion with the grand total of their labors, that the aggregate of the Reports made in both Houses, was 1849; of joint resolutions and bills acted on, 1328; and of laws finally passed, 514; the laws averaging as much *more than one a day*, as 514 exceeds 450, a far greater proportion than any other Congress ever did in a given time; when all this is considered, the accusation falls to the ground, and the 27th Congress stands forth, not only vindicated, but entitled to the highest praise, in this particular. Certainly, it can never be said, that, by their protracted Sessions, they have *increased* the expenses of Government, when it is proved, that they have *reduced* them *one half*.

### *The discipline of the 27th Congress:*

Notwithstanding all the clamor about gag-laws, suppression of the freedom of debate, &c., it is now generally conceded, even by the opposition in the late Congress, certainly it is felt by the country, that the one hour rule, and the assumption in the House of Representatives of the right to limit debate in Committee of the Whole, are among the best and most important regulations ever adopted by a deliberative body. It's a great reform, and it was by this, and by this only, that the 27th Congress were enabled to accomplish such a vast amount of business so greatly in excess of all preceding Congresses, in a given time.

The custom that had grown up, of allowing one speech to be spun out two, sometimes three whole days, was an outrage, that should be scouted from the nation, with the indignant voice of popular reprobation.

### *Land Distribution.*

Although, like the action of Congress on the currency question, this also was a failure by the interposition of the veto power, it was nevertheless a prominent and important feature in the history of the 27th Congress.

The terms of the cession were, that these "lands shall be a *common fund* for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become, or shall become members of the Confederacy, according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure," after the objects of cession shall have been answered. General Jackson, in his message of 1833, says, "as the lands may now be considered as *released from the pledge*, the object for which they were ceded having been accomplished, it is in the discretion of Congress to dispose of them," &c.

Besides the equity and consequent obligations of the case, there are *four* cogent political and eminently practical reasons, which urge distribution in *some* form. 1. The States are but integral parts of a whole—the Union. If the parts are weak, the whole is weak; and if the parts are strong, the whole is strong. The interests of the parts cannot be disjoined from those of the whole. 2. In the Federal Constitution, the States have relinquished the right of collecting revenue from imposts, and it is vested in the United States. This will naturally be regarded as conferring some obligations on the United States to be at least *considerate* and *kind* towards the States in their needs, when in danger of being driven to direct taxation for want of this power, and to help them if they can without violating the Constitution. 3. It will always be felt, and we think with truth and justice, and felt more and more, that it was the action of the Federal Government, which brought the indebted States and other parties, and the country generally, into these difficulties. Hence arises the obligation to render assistance, when it can be done in a proper and Constitutional way. 4. The importance of rescuing the tariff system from the fluctuating influence of an ever shifting land revenue, and the practical evils resulting from this connexion, would seem sufficient to make it better to give away the public lands, than to have such a disturbing cause for ever acting on the Tariff policy. Once disposed of this agitating question, and let the General Government depend on a Tariff for support, we may then hope for a permanent and uniform system of revenue and finance.

### *Funding the public debt.*

This was a part of the doings of the 27th Congress. It will have been seen in a former part of this Tract, in what an embarrassed condition Mr. Van Buren left the Treasury and the public finances; that he came in with *six millions* in the Treasury, afterwards took the *eight millions* of United States bank stock, and the *nine millions* instalment due the States—in all, with their fractions and interest, about *twenty-four millions over and above the revenue*—and that he went out, leaving the Treasury involved with *six millions and a half of debt*, in the form of Treasury notes, and other liabilities in the form of outstanding appropriations, amounting in all to nearly *thirty-five millions*. Add this thirty-five millions to the twenty-four millions, above referred to,

and deduct nine millions of outstanding appropriations left for Mr. Van Buren to provide for when he came into power, and we have the result of *fifty millions run up* by Mr. Van Buren in his four years, *over and above* the public revenue.

Beside all this, there was a constantly *descending* revenue, resulting from the conditions of the compromise act of 1832, and from the misfortunes of the country. *Five millions* were to fall off by the first of these causes, in 1841, and *five millions* more in 1842.

With this astounding state of things, inherited by the new administration, with *such a debt, such liabilities* of the Treasury, and *such a revenue*—what was to be done?

The Whigs of the 27th Congress, like all honest men, were compelled to *recognize* the debt; to call it by its right name; but what should they do with it, and how provide for the prospect before them? They took the bull by the horns at once, put a ring in his nose, and got him under control, instead of hanging on to his tail, and being dragged after him in his wild and furious career, as the previous administration had done. They *funded* the debt, or a small part of it, *twelve millions*, and undertook to manage the rest as well as they could, by Treasury notes and other expedients, till prosperity might return under the operation of the contemplated Tariff.

#### *Providing for the extinction of the public debt.*

When a man has got in debt, if not discouraged, he undertakes to get out by fresh enterprise and frugality. There was no other way for the 27th Congress to provide for the extinction of the public debt imposed upon them by the previous administration, but by restoring public prosperity by a Tariff. This they put in order, and by it the nation may gradually be relieved of all its burdens.

#### *Who created this public debt?*

In view of the facts we have presented, it might seem very superfluous to put this question, and yet the Locofoco press throughout the country is constantly iterating and reiterating the charge, that the Whigs made it.

We observe a *confession* from the Hon. Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, in circulation, of a debt of \$7,480,692.18, on the 4th of March, 1841, when Mr. Van Buren retired—which he (Mr. Johnson) professes to have got from the Treasury. Add to this the outstanding appropriations, not reckoned by him, of \$28,906,090.76, (House Doc. 281, 2d Sess. 27th Con.), saddled on the incoming administration, and it makes the debt thus descending, or inherited, \$36,386,782.94. These being the liabilities of the Treasury on that occasion, constitute the true story of the debt.

The amount of these outstanding or undrawn appropriations, is remarkable. One fourth of this would be an egregious fault at any time. But the out-going administration on the 4th of March, 1841, had used up all funds, run down the revenue, got in debt, and found it *convenient* to saddle the burden on their successors, who had to provide for it all.

#### *Mr. Van Buren's furtive mode of creating a public debt.*

There is another cause of national debt which may be called *furtive*, growing out of the last administration, and *stealing* upon the present. It was neglecting to provide a revenue for the future, or permitting our only system of revenue to *run down or run out*. They *broke* it down. A Government is as much bound to provide for four years to come, as for next year; or is as responsible for breaking down the revenue for four coming years, as for one. By such means it *entails* a national debt. It is precisely the same as if it had left one.

It has been seen, that Mr. Van Buren used up *thirty millions* more than the revenue of his term of office; that he left more than *thirty millions* of a positive burden on the succeeding administration; and in addition to all this, he so managed our financial system, that it would not be possible to get more than *half* as much revenue in the next four years as he got in his term, without a new organization, the benefits of which could not be realized under two or three years—scarcely less than four. All these things considered, the burden entailed by Mr. Van Buren on the succeeding administration, could not be less than *fifty millions*—a sum nearly enough to support a prudent administration for a whole term of four years.

#### *The worst thing of all.*

It were a small matter, that the expenses of Government should have been raised *one half or one third* higher than was necessary, by fraud, peculation, defalcation, and extravagance, pervading all its departments, as has been proved in these pages, if the destruction of the currency and other ruinous disasters, brought upon the whole nation and all its parts, by a mistaken and fatal policy, had not rendered the burden so heavy—so intolerable; and if, moreover, the Government had not allowed the system of revenue itself to be broken down, thus leading to direct taxation of a people, who, by such causes, had been made so poor as to have nothing to pay it with. If they had left us the old state of things, our prosperity and our means, they might have run up the expenses of Government to *fifty*, or even a *hundred millions* a year—and we could have borne and carried it all easily.

#### *Confession of Mr. Woodbury.*

In December, 1840, Mr. Woodbury, then Secretary of the Treasury, said in his annual Report:—

"Thus the progressive reduction of the present Tariff, which has been going on since 1833, will, after December, 1841, take effect to a much larger extent than heretofore. Nearly two millions and a half will then be deducted at once.

¶¶ (For page 6) Omitted—rather curious:—In 1837 Congress made an appropriation of \$240,000 to remove obstructions in the mouth of the Mississippi. Various attempts were made at a cost of \$223,231, in the bill of which we find the following interesting and *appropriate* items:—for silver watches, \$386; for hardware, \$3,332; for port wine, \$20 25; fines to Sheriff, \$14 10; hostelry, \$23; hire of carriages, \$58 25; omnibus tickets, \$0.75; painting office sign, \$9; dry goods, \$106; musquito bars \$120; muslin \$77 58; repairing watches, \$45 50; &c. (House Doc. 458, 2d Sess., 27th Congress.)

"On the 1st of July afterwards, at least two millions and a half more of duties will be removed; making an aggregate in six months, of quite five millions. If the imports then should not differ much from those in 1838, this would leave an income from them not probably exceeding ten or eleven millions of dollars yearly. It will therefore be necessary to make corresponding reductions in the expenditures of 1842, or *seasonably provide otherwise, in some permanent manner, to supply all wants likely to happen from this cause.*"

This is a confession to be noted, as coming from Mr. Woodbury, whose faculty of concealing such truths was pre-eminent. As a peep into the future from that position, however, and as usual for him, it does not disclose a thousandth part of the difficulties to be encountered, arising out of the improvidence and wastefulness of the Administration of which he was a part. There is, nevertheless, in this confession, a foreshadowing of a coming crisis. That *Crisis*, induced by the previous administration, the Whigs of the 27th Congress had to meet, and provide for. Mr. Van Buren and his friends, adhering to their principles, would have been overthrown by it. They could never have repaired the mischief they had done.

#### *The Districting Law.*

The Constitution, on this subject, reads thus:—"The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators."

Now, it happens, that the law of the 27th Congress, requiring each State to be divided into as many Congressional districts as there are Representatives, to the end that each member may represent his own district, still leaves the detail of these regulations, as to "*times, places, and manner of holding the elections, to be prescribed by the State legislatures,*" as above directed by the Constitution, so that nothing of the power thus vested in the States, is taken away, notwithstanding the right of Congress to "*alter such regulations by law at any time,*" is clearly given in the same sentence. There is therefore not the slightest invasion of the pretended claim of the States, by this law. They are only required to elect by *Districts*, instead of the *general ticket*.

The benefits of the district system are, 1. *Uniformity* in the mode of elections. Before some, and most of the States, acted on the district system; others elected by general ticket. 2. *Fairness* to all political parties. It might happen, when the majority of the people of the United States were of one political party, that the adoption of the general ticket in two or three States, should give the opposite party the ascendancy in Congress—a very improper advantage. 3. The District system is *more democratic*, and gives a chance to every district to elect a man whom the people *know*, to represent *them* and their interests; whereas the other system is controlled by the nominations of a few political demagogues, who thus control the people of a whole State, and the people of the Union. It is *anti-democratic*.

If Representatives elected by general ticket should be admitted into the next Congress, it will be *against a law of the land*—it will be nullification in the boldest form, the nullifiers standing up and acting in the capacity of the Supreme legislators.

#### *The remedial Justice bill.*

In the passage of this bill, the 27th Congress had to grapple with and settle one of the most delicate and most momentous questions involved in the relations of Federal and State Jurisdictions. All know, that the Constitution forbids the States to make war, or peace, or treaties with foreign powers; from which it might justly be inferred, that no State has a right so to exercise its independent authorities as to *breed war*. Yet it is manifest, that such was the tendency and hazard of the action of the New York authorities in the case of Alexander McLeod.

The object attained by the *Remedial Justice bill*, is to bring all such questions, involving international relations, under the *Federal Jurisdiction*, and into the Courts of the United States, where they properly belong, so that it shall not be in the power of the authorities of a single State to involve the United States in war.

#### *The Tariff.*

This is a difficult subject, both in theory and practice. Facts only can decide the questions that rise.

#### *Tariff axioms.*

1. *Free trade means fair trade*, in popular phrase. 2. *Fair trade* requires, that if one nation has a tariff, its neighbor, trading with it, must have an equal one, for self-protection. 3. And consequently, the *principles* of free trade, require *equal tariffs*, or none at all. 4. Since other nations, with which we trade, have tariffs, we must have one too, to maintain our own rights, or unwisely suffer disadvantage and loss. 5. *Reciprocity* in tariffs is a principle of free trade—that is, the same *practically*.

#### *Specimens of foreign tariffs.*

The British Tariff on Louisiana sugar is 270 per cent.; on molasses, 400 do.; on American tobacco, 1200 do.; on our spirits from grain, 2700 do.; on our wheat, 60 do.; on our salt beef, 60 do.; on our pork, 68 do.; on our bacon, 85 do.; on our timber, 96 do.; on our staves, 110 do.; &c. &c. &c. British duties on our most important agricultural staples—cotton excepted—are intended to be prohibitory, and are so. The duties collected in Europe on American tobacco, are *thirty-five millions of dollars annually*—equal to the average annual expenditure of Mr. Van Buren's Administration; and *double* of the annual appropriations of the 27th (Whig) Congress. Surely, it is no more than fair to get something back for all this which foreigners get out of us—at least half of what Europe gets on our tobacco, which would amply support our Government under a *Whig Administration*.

### Objections to the Tariff of 1842.

It is said it is *too high*. The following is a comparative statement (direct from the Treasury Department) of the Tariffs of 1824, '28, '32-3, and '42, in regard to a list of some of the most important articles, by which it will be seen that there is no foundation for this objection:—

Species of Merchandise.	Rates of duty under the Tariffs of			
	1824.	1828.	1832-3.	1842.
Cloths and cassimeres . . . . .	36½ per ct.	55 per ct.	50 per ct.	40 per ct.
Merino shawls of wool . . . . .	36½ "	55 "	50 "	40 "
Blankets not above 75 cents each . . . . .	27½ "	38½ "	5 "	15 "
" above 75 cents each . . . . .	27½ "	38½ "	25 "	25 "
Woollen hosiery, gloves, mits, &c. . . . .	27½ "	38½ "	25 "	30 "
Worsted stuffs . . . . .	27½ "	27½ "	free	30 "
Worsted yarn . . . . .	36½ "	36½ "	20 per ct.	30 "
Woollen yarn . . . . .	36½ "	36½ "	50½ & 4 cts.	30 "
Other manufactures of wool . . . . .	36½ "	36½ "	50 per ct.	40 "
Wool unmanufactured not above 8 cts. per pound . . . . .	16½ "	55½ & 4 cts.	free	5 "
" above 8 cents per pound . . . . .	33 "	55½ & 4 cts.	40½ & 4 cts.	30½ & 3 cts.
Flannels . . . . .	36½ "	49½ "	16 cts.	14 cts.
Baizes . . . . .	36½ "	49½ "	16 "	14 "
Cotton bagging . . . . .	3½ cts.	5 cts.	3½ "	4 "
Clothing ready made . . . . .	33 per ct.	55 per ct.	50 per ct.	50 per ct.
Sugar, brown . . . . .	3 cts.	3 cts.	3 cts.	2½ cts.
" white clayed, &c. . . . .	4 "	4 "	3½ "	4 "
" loaf . . . . .	12 "	12 "	12 "	6 "
Cheese . . . . .	9 "	9 "	9 "	9 "
Lard . . . . .	3 "	3 "	3 "	3 "
Lead, pig, bar, &c. . . . .	2 "	3 "	3 "	3 "
Iron chain, cut . . . . .	5 "	5 "	5 "	3 "
" wrought . . . . .	5 "	5 "	5 "	4 "
spikes, . . . . .	4 "	4 "	4 "	3 "
cables, chain, &c. . . . .	3 "	3 "	3 "	2½ "
Blacksmith's hammers and sledges . . . . .	27½ per ct.	24 "	24 "	24 "
castings, vessel o. . . . .	1½ cts.	1½ "	1½ "	1½ "
" other . . . . .	1 "	1 "	1 "	1 "
round and Brazier's rods . . . . .	3 "	3½ "	3 "	2½ "
nail and spike rods . . . . .	3 "	3½ "	3 "	2½ "
sheet and hoop . . . . .	3 "	3½ "	3 "	2½ "
bar manufactured by rolling . . . . .	150 cwt.	185 cwt.	150 cwt.	195 cwt.
manufactured otherwise . . . . .	90 "	1 ct. lb.	90 "	85 "
Salt . . . . .	20 cts.	20 cts.	10 cts.	8 cts.
Glass bottles, black, n by a 1 quart . . . . .	200	200	200	300
" n by a 2 quart . . . . .	250	250	250	400
Window glass, n by a 8 by 10 inches . . . . .	300	300	300	
" n by a 10 by 12 " . . . . .	350	350	350	
" above 10 by 12 " . . . . .	400	400	400	
Shoes and slippers, silk . . . . .	30	30	30	30
" prunelle, and other stuff . . . . .	25	25	25	25
" leather . . . . .	25	25	25	25
" children's . . . . .	15	15	15	15
Boots and booties . . . . .	150	150	150	125

It will be seen that the Tariff of 1828 is the highest of the four. It has been called "the bill of abominations." Yet Martin Van Buren, Richard M. Johnson, Thos. H. Benton, Mahlon Dickerson, Silas Wright, and James Buchanan—all voted for it. Messrs. Wright and Buchanan also voted for the Tariff of 1842, and twenty of the Loco focus of the House. Indeed, the credit of the bill of 1842 is claimed for these, because, it is said, *their vote carried it*.

It is also said, that the present Tariff will operate as *prohibitory*, and *diminish revenue*. It is a sufficient answer, to state the facts, that the highest Tariffs we have ever had, have produced the largest revenue, and that every quarter's return of the present Tariff, proves the same thing. These facts are indisputable.

It is moreover said, that a Tariff *enhances prices* of the goods on which it is imposed. Suppose it does, it is a voluntary tax, and in a Tariff like ours, it falls chiefly on the rich. But the thing is false, in application to a judicious Tariff, as the following statement, furnished by the Treasury Department, will show:—

Description of articles.	1816.		1825.		1829.		1832.	
	Price.	Duty.	Price.	Duty.	Price.	Duty.	Price.	Duty.
Braces of 24 bits . . . . .	s. d.	per ct.	s. d.	per ct.	s. d.	per ct.	s. d.	per ct.
Hammers, per doz. . . . .	18 10	20	7 6	25	5 4	25	5 4	25
Cupboard locks, per doz. . . . .	12	30	7 2	25	5 4	25	4 2	25
Wheelyards, per pair . . . . .	4 8	20	2 9	25	1 10	25	1 3	25
Hinges, cast butts, per doz. . . . .	3 2	20	2 3	25	1 2	25	1 4	25
Compasses, rule joint, per doz. . . . .	4 2	30	3 1	25	2 7	25	1 10	25
Carrycombs, per doz. . . . .	3 10	30	2	25	1 4	25	11	25

The prices under 1816 show the rates before the Tariff of that year; those under 1825 show the effects of the Tariff of 1816; and so on. Like effects were produced by those Tariffs on nearly all kinds of goods subject to increased duty, cotton and woollen fabrics, &c. &c.

The Birmingham Factory of pins, in Connecticut, which, before the Tariff of 1842, was able to turn out a *million a day*, and *undersell* the imported pins, immediately *lowered* the prices *six cents* per pack, *after* the Tariff, which imposes a duty from 20 to 30 per cent. on this article.

The following are from the prices current of domestic goods, at Lowell, Mass., immediately *before* and immediately *after* the Tariff of 1842:

	Cent.	Cent.
Cotton drillings, - - - - before the Tariff, 7½	-	after, 7
" shirtings, - - - - do. 5½	-	do. 5
" " heavy, - - - - do. 6½	-	do. 5½
" sheetings, - - - - do. 6½	-	do. 6
" " wide, - - - - do. 8½	-	do. 7½
Flannel, - - - - do. 10	-	do. 8½

Woollens of different kinds fell from 12½ to 20 per cent.

The Collector of the Customs of New York, Mr. Curtis, in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, of Nov. 28, 1842, gives a long list of prices, *before* and *after* the Tariff, of articles on which an increased duty had been imposed, which proves, that the prices of such articles had in all cases fallen, except on the best brandies—and fallen largely, for the most part.

These facts prove, that a suitable protection of home industry and labor will enable domestic manufacturers to *sell lower*, and that home competition is quite sufficient to secure this end.

Any Tariff, therefore, that is necessary for an adequate revenue, supersedes the necessity of direct taxation, and is an unspeakable blessing to the labor and industry of the country, besides that it lowers the prices of manufactured articles, while the wages of labor, and the staple products of our own soil, everywhere rise. The farmer gets his goods cheaper, sells his products higher, and finds a ready market. By this means a foundation is laid for the re-establishment of a sound currency. It brings in the precious metals, and keeps them here. Accordingly we find, that since the Tariff of 1842, they are flowing in upon us with great increase.

The truth is, we can never have a sound and abundant currency, till the Tariff shall have had a fair and full experiment. For the want of it, our country had been drained of specie. It is now flowing back again.

Hence, the re-adjustment of our Tariff regulations, which, by the conditions of former legislation on the subject necessarily devolved on the 27th Congress, was, in fact, of greater importance than the re-establishment of the currency. It was a *sine qua non*—the former being indispensable as a basis of the latter.

The Tariff is necessarily the first step in our return to prosperity. Not an inch can be recovered, but all would be backward and downward still, without it. Hence the importance of the 27th, or Whig Congress, as the opposing party would never have granted this boon to the people but would even now snatch it away, if they should dare.

#### *What we have proved.*

We submit whether the facts we have adduced do not prove, that there has been something *bad—very bad* in the administration of our Government for a length of years; and that the people in 1840 did not complain without reason, were not roused without cause.

#### *To whom we are indebted.*

To the Whigs of the 27th Congress, laboring under the greatest possible disadvantages by the defection of the Chief Magistrate—or rather by the betrayal of the insincerity of his pretensions—and contending with a powerful opposition that conspired with a treacherous Executive to thwart, undermine, and defeat them—to the Whigs of that Congress, placed in such circumstances, and warring with such difficulties, is the nation indebted for these discoveries and results. There is the GREAT FACT, the DOINGS of the 27th Congress, *demonstrating* what can be accomplished, even against such obstacles, in the way of retrenchment and reform, in bringing to light the hidden crimes of the past, and providing healing measures for the great misfortunes of the country.

#### *What history will record of the 27th Congress.*

It will say—That it was begotten of an injured people, in hope of redress; that it was the most tal-  
*anted* ever assembled in the same place; that the majority of that body were men of honest political  
 design, intent on great reform, so much demanded; that they were born to this great endeavor amid  
 shoutings, lived under a cloud, and died grieving, if not lamented; that they had more important business  
 coming before them, and did more, than any other Congress; that what they left undone, was not their  
 fault; that they were placed in a position most anomalous, and had to contend with difficulties unpar-  
 alleled, by the perfidious conduct of the Chief Magistrate; that they came in after a set of men, who, by  
 many years of a ruinous policy and destructive measures, had broken down the currency, run down the  
 revenue, run down the people, and run down the country; that they were required to build all up again  
 in a day; that they performed miracles for the circumstances in which they were placed, introduced bold  
 reform, and effected large retrenchments, in a Government for a long time not guilty of such works, but  
 the contrary; that in fidelity of purpose and vigor of undertaking, they excelled all example of the kind,  
 and that they began a great and good work, achieved much of it, and put down a stake in American  
 history, which will be looked to and hung to in all future time, so long as men may hope for  
 improvement.

#### *The Future.*

In 1840 the instincts of a nation in deep distress, were roused for self-preservation, and they triumphed. But *treason—rank* treason snatched victory from the victors. In 1844, the last great trial will come, and the weal or woe of this nation will then be settled. There is no escape. We have only to say to a disappointed, suffering, and half despairing people,—

*Once more unto the breach, dear friends.—ONCE MORE.*

THE  
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## POLITICAL ABOLITION.

### 1. *The Author's position on the subject of slavery.*

It is that of a Northern man, born and educated in a free State, always opposed to slavery, still opposed to it, judging it to be wrong, and desiring to see it abolished, as well in this country, as in all others. This he assumes to be the general feeling of the people in the free States, as he has rarely found an instance to the contrary. We, therefore, of the free States, (we speak for the great body of the people,) do not yield to the Abolitionists a whit in our opposition to slavery; we differ from them only as to the mode of getting rid of the evil. We claim to be the true Friends of the slave, while we believe them to be pursuing a course hostile to his best interests, and unfavorable to his emancipation.

### 2. *The origin of slavery in the United States.*

It is enough to say, that it was imposed upon the Colonies, by the British Government, for the augmentation of its revenue and the profit of its favorites, against the anxious protests of the Colonists themselves, and that while the Colonies were subject to the British Crown, it had grown to an extent not easy to be eradicated. Thus far, the responsibility of its introduction and growth, is settled. When the Colonies became independent, and were about to set up the Government of the United States, those members of the Confederation, which had slavery as a part of their state of society, foreseeing the evils of interference with this subject from other quarters, refused to come into the Union under the Constitution, without an express stipulation to secure their exclusive control of the slave question within their respective limits, which condition was acceded to. Such, briefly, is the origin of slavery in the United States.

### 3. *The more remote origin of Occidental or American slavery of the African race.*

It began in a proposal of Las Casas, a Roman Catholic priest, to the Spanish Government, for authority to introduce Africans by importation into the West Indies, to save the natives, who were being exterminated by hard service and severe treatment under the Spaniards. His object was benevolent. From that germe, African slavery spread over this Western world. Its still more remote origin, however, lay in the previous debased condition and barbarous customs of the African tribes, which invited the Asiatics on the East and Europeans on the North, to trade in the bodies and souls of men, whom portions of their own race, by prowess of arms, had first made captive, and then exposed for sale—a custom of the African tribes, or hordes, practised from time immemorial. We mention it not as an apology for the more civilized portions of the world, for engaging in this inhuman traffic, but as an historical fact to account for the origin of African slavery. It originated in the barbarous passions and habits of the race.

### 4. *How the subject of slavery should be approached.*

For all that the United States are concerned in it, it is manifest, that the present Government and people of this country, are in no wise responsible for its origin. It was entailed as a calamity, and its being on the hands of any of the States, when we acquired our independence, can not be charged as a crime. They are only responsible for the manner in which they treat it, and for the disposition that shall be ultimately made of it. They who believe in that Providence, with whom "one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day," will look forward for some grand and beneficent result to grow out of that providential treatment, which has marked the history of this race for centuries past. It is a great wheel moving round, and notwithstanding all the clouds and darkness that have overhung it, some rays of light have dawned on its progress. Miracles of relief are not to be expected; but relief will come at last.

### 5. *Definition.*

By political abolition, as used in this Tract, we mean that well-known movement, got up in the free States, to accomplish this object, by resorting to the ballot-box, in its bearings on the National Administration. It can not be denied, that the ballot-box is a primary and fundamental political power. All other political powers above it, are only its instruments and agents. Whatever may result from this primary function of the body politic, these primary actors are responsible for. It is this power which directs and controls the offices of legislation, the functions of magistracy, and the sword of war. It is the original and effective agency of political society, in a popular government like ours.

### 6. *The formation of our Government.*

It has been justly called a Government of compromise, on account of the variety of conflicting interests which had to be consulted before its consummation. The achievement of Independence was but half the work. We were a spectacle to the whole world as to what we

should come to. The friends of liberty were anxious, its enemies still hoped for our failure, while we had to encounter appalling difficulties. The Confederation proved miserably deficient, and nothing could exceed the concern of our most eminent patriots, till the Constitution was finally adopted. It was entirely a new kind of government, composed of wheels within a wheel, of inferior sovereignties allied to one superior and general. In the construction of this machinery, it was necessary exactly to define the powers of the General Government, so as not to interfere with those of the States. This being done, the powers of the States, called *State Rights*, are determined by the following Article, the Tenth of the Amendments:—"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." From this article is derived the exclusive power of the slave States over slavery within their respective limits, it being one of the powers "not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States." In all such powers, the States are as sovereign as any independent nations.

#### 7. *The political compact of the Union—political rights resulting therefrom.*

While we are one nation, we are many States, and the States are not provinces, recognising in all things the supremacy of the national authorities; nor municipal corporations, acting in the capacity of counties and towns, under a commonwealth; but they are original, independent, and sovereign powers in all things "not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States;" and these delegated and prohibited powers were not imposed by authority, but surrendered by compact, while the States were acting in the capacity of original and independent sovereignties. It was of the nature of a treaty between nations, as a political transaction, though more intimate and more solemn, having in view a different and more comprehensive object—viz : a supreme and supervising authority as to the powers "delegated." But the political rights "reserved," are as independent and sovereign, as those of two nations are, under compact of a treaty, in all things not belonging to the treaty. This view, which we believe to be correct, is important to our present purpose.

#### 8. *The importance and solemnity of the Union as a compromise between the parties.*

But for this compromise, the struggle and cost of the American Revolution would in all probability have been wasted. It was indispensably necessary to save and secure the freedom and independence we had acquired. The parties to this compact had diverse interests to protect, and diverse difficulties to encounter. The arrangement, as finally adjusted and ratified, was regarded by our fathers as one of great solemnity and of unspeakable importance. It was viewed with a kind of religious awe, and with conscientious respect. The man that would lift his hand to impair or disturb it, would have been scathed by the reprobation of a universal public sentiment—a feeling that has been cherished from that time to this, and ever ought to be cherished.

#### 9. *Where lies the responsibility of slavery under this compact.*

Do we, the people of the United States, hold ourselves responsible for any of the laws and institutions of Great Britain, of France, or of any other foreign and independent power, because we happen to be under a treaty with them? It is true, indeed, that the treaty or compact of this Union, is not precisely of the same character with our treaty stipulations with foreign nations, as it bears on the question before us, in that it goes farther, and is more particular in its specifications. We never promise, that we will not meddle with the domestic regulations of foreign powers, when we make treaties with them; for it is not deemed necessary. But we have promised, and solemnly engaged, that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are" (of course, *shall be*) "*reserved to the States respectively.*" But, the political compact of a treaty with a foreign power, so far as it goes, is precisely of the same political character with the political compact of this Union. How, then, can the free States, or the people of those States, be responsible for slavery in other States, which, as high contracting political parties, they have solemnly engaged never to meddle with? This power is "*reserved*" to those States. If the free States, or the people of those States, ever had anything to do in originating slavery, they have atoned for it by abolishing it. The slave States never surrendered the care, nor transferred the responsibility of slavery, either to the General Government, or to the free States, or to any parties whatever. How, then, can the General Government, or the free States, or any of their parts or agencies, be responsible for that which they not only never had in charge, but expressly stipulated not to assume? The responsibility of this engagement may be brought home with great force from the other side, nor is it possible to escape from it. More than this:—There is an oath of allegiance, always implied in the use of a political power in the State, and in many States actually administered to voters and public officers, to support the Constitution of the United States. Put these obligations together, and they present a formidable obstacle to the conscience of a man, who thinks of stepping over or tries to get round them. If, as American citizens, we have no responsibility in the serfdom of Russia, of

Austria, or of Turkey, and if it would be improper for us to interfere with it *politically*, much more as parties to the public and solemn compact of this Union, are we bound to respect its federative engagements.

#### 10. *The proper ground of abolition.*

As an enterprise of humanity and benevolence, employing *moral* means only, in distinction from political agencies, abolition is a proper mission *from any quarter to any quarter*. Such has ever been the high ground taken by the Society of Friends *as a body*. They have protested against slavery before the world, and done what they could, by precept and example, by speech and the press, and by various modes of social and moral influence, for its extinction. In this work, they have not only been tolerated, but respected. They have wielded a steady, progressive, and effective influence. Pacific in their principles and practice, they have been admitted into the heart of slave-holding communities, to bear their testimony.

While such was the character of the general anti-slavery feeling and operations of the free States of this Union, their voice was heard, and their influence was salutary. Thousands in the slave States joined with them, and slave-holders themselves were open to argument and conviction, while moral means and pacific measures alone were employed. But the moment when *political* abolition rushed into the field, on the soil of the free States, with severe denunciation and the use of the ballot-box, all the good influence of the anti-slavery phalanx was not only at an end, but a retrograde movement in the cause of emancipation, in the slave States, commenced, and it is yet a moral problem in the aspects of society in that quarter, as to how many years, or how many ages, it may take to recover the ground that has been lost.

#### 11. *Political abolition is force.*

We know that this is not commonly thought of, and would perhaps at first be questioned. But a vote at the polls is the original and fundamental power of American political society, and implies force in the end, if necessary. The first attitude, therefore, or first position of this political power, is that of *incipient* force. It *aims to compel* the accomplishment of its designs by the powers of the State, which are force in abeyance. There is no political power in existence, which is not fortified by force, in abeyance or in actual use, or that could stand one day without it. Such, precisely, is the position assumed by political abolition in the free States.

#### 12. *And it is an aggressive movement.*

This results from the political structure of the Union, before considered. Slavery, in any of these States, occupies the same position, politically, in relation to the other States, which the institutions and laws of the European nations do to the United States. Suppose, then, that a party should start up in this country, and go to the polls, augmenting their forces every year, with the declared object of putting down any one or more of the institutions of a European power, because, in their view, that institution is a bad one, oppressive, and destructive of human liberty. There are many such institutions in Europe. Would it not be regarded as an *aggressive* movement?—And if there were any chance or apprehension of success, would it be a matter of surprise, if the menaced power should put itself on the defensive?—Would it be strange, if that power should take measures to anticipate the movement, and commence aggressive operations, in retaliation? The crusade of the first party might be a very benevolent one; but as a political movement, it would be *aggressive*.

#### 13. *Political abolition, in the free States, is a breach of faith.*

This also results from the political structure of the Union already noticed. Do we hold ourselves at liberty to break a treaty with a foreign power, because we have since concluded that we can not tolerate some evil or evils in its bosom—evils which existed when the treaty was made, which were then considered by us, and which we agreed to tolerate, or at least, to leave entirely on their responsibility and in their discretion?—If we originate a new political movement, to disturb this arrangement, do we not violate the treaty?—But the compact of this Union is of a more solemn nature, than a ratified treaty between the United States and a foreign power; nor are the slave States less independent and sovereign, as to the matter in question, than a foreign power, with which we are supposed to be connected by such treaty stipulations.

#### 14. *The impracticability of political abolition.*

We speak of course, in the case now under consideration, of such a movement in the free States towards the slave States. It is impracticable, 1. Because political power is force, and force is offensive. 2. Because the parties assailed, can shield themselves behind the Constitution of the United States. 3. Because, the farther political abolition, from such a quarter, goes, the worse and more hopeless is its cause, both as respects the temper of slave-holders, and the condition of the slaves. 4. Because the limit of such a movement, *unless open violence is meditated*, will be found just where its operations will have had no other effect than to plant obstacles in its own path. 5. And consequently, because, such being the Constitutional bar,

rier to this movement, everything done in *this* way, by its moral effect, forces the object ~~in~~ view into a more remote position of possible attainment, if, indeed, it should not render it for ever unattainable.

15. *The mischievous results of political abolition already developed.*

It is well known, that, previous to the start of political abolition in the free States, the spirit of emancipation prevailed extensively in the slave States, and among slave-holders; that the leading and most influential men in those States, were accustomed freely to acknowledge the evils of slavery, and were engaged in benevolent schemes to abate them; that many of them entertained with favor, the purpose of a gradual, and ultimately an entire abolition; that numerous conscientious persons were providing for the emancipation of their own slaves; that entire freedom of speech and of the press, on the subject, was tolerated; that free colored people in the slave States, were generally treated with indulgence, and encouraged; and that this state of feeling had made visible progress, from the organization of our government, down to the outbreak of political abolition in the free States. There was a fair prospect, that one slave State after another, beginning with the more northern, if left to their own free and undisturbed action, would follow the example of New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, in the total extinction of slavery. Such was the state of things, while the subject was left to the *moral* influences operating quietly and pacifically, but effectively, on the public mind. It is but a few years since, that a strong movement was made in the State and legislature of Virginia, for the adoption of a system of emancipation, which was eloquently debated, and had a large minority vote.

But, behold the change! Maryland, which was expected first to move in the cause of emancipation, taking alarm from such interference, has inserted a clause in her Constitution for the *perpetuity* of slavery! The whole mind of the slave States, has been thrown off from its former basis of growing favor toward emancipation, and put in an attitude of defence against foreign interference. The ingress of free blacks into the slave States has generally been interdicted; free colored residents have been banished from some parts, and in all places subjected to great disadvantages, and deprived of important privileges; the work of emancipation has been put in check, and the disposition for it quenched; rigorous defensive laws have been enacted and enforced; the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of the slaves, which before was encouraged, and growing in popularity, has been very much abridged, and in some places entirely stopped; the slaves are subjected to a stricter watch, and treated with greater rigor, where causes of apprehension exist; scarcely an advocate of emancipation can be found in the slave States, where there were thousands, and tens of thousands before; freedom of speech and of the press, except on one side of the question, is chiefly suppressed; and the entire slave-holding portion of the Union, instead of being engaged, as before, in meliorating the condition of the slaves, mitigating the rigors of the system, and marching forward toward the goal of final emancipation, has been forced into an attitude, and into measures of defence against the *political* abolition of the free States.

We ask, if these are not very impressive and very instructive facts?—The lessons of experience teach us, that it is safe to judge of the future from the past, of what is to come from what has happened. Such being our rule of judgment, it is manifest, that, as political abolition has yet done nothing but injury to the cause it has taken in hand, and injury on an immense scale, it will do nothing but injury in time to come.

16. *Civil war.*

We are not fond of alarming topics, nor disposed to excite unnecessary anxiety. But the evils of political abolition, rising up in the North, must be faced, and the consequences it tends to, must be considered. However averse the people of the free States may be to slavery—and we believe they are almost universally so—yet they can not but feel, that this remedy of political abolition is worse than the disease, first, because the rudeness and violence of the treatment only aggravate it; and next, because they fear, that the medicine, if administered as proposed, will kill both the patient and the doctor. A dissolution of the Union would be as certain as any effect of a moral cause that can be reckoned on. Nor is it likely, that this would be the end. The political asperities and exasperations that would grow out of such a conflict, would themselves naturally be breeders of other convulsions; and it would be strange, if some military chieftain, or chieftains, should rise up in the struggle, to make slaves of all freemen, and bind in stronger chains, those whom, by such means, it is proposed to set free.

We are a family of States, bound together by a covenant solemnly ratified, which prescribes the rights of each. In this family, concord is beautiful; but family quarrels are the worst of all. Civil war is the most terrible and most desolating of all wars, and most difficult to be brought to an end. Look at Spain. Will any one say, that such a movement, as the political abolition of the North, does not put in jeopardy the peace of this Union, and the Union itself? And can any human foresight tell what scenes of strife it is likely to produce, if it

should be encouraged to pass on its way towards the supreme power of the nation, which is now its avowed aim?

#### 17. *The effect of political abolition on the annexation of Texas.*

Under the present extent of our national jurisdiction, we can not see much occasion of jealousy between the North and South, in regard to slavery, if the Federal Constitution should be scrupulously observed by all parties. But, if political abolition in the North insists on making its demonstrations and advances towards the South, it is very natural that the South should endeavor to fortify itself by all means in its power; and it is not to be disguised, that the annexation of Texas, as a slave State, itself a field for the growth of several slave States hereafter to be erected, would strengthen their balance of power in the Union, and tend to give them a preponderance. Doubtless this question will be agitated, and the strongest motive of the South, and its strongest argument for the annexation, will be the growth and influence of Northern political abolition. In whatever aspect, therefore, we view this movement, it threatens to disturb the Union. Leave the slave States, just where the Federal Constitution has placed them, unmolested in their Constitutional securities, and we can not see any good reason why they should be anxious for the annexation of Texas—certainly not to urge it. But the continued agitation of political abolition in the North, will give them an apology, and be a strong incentive for efforts to attain that end. If the free States, by reason of the *fact* of political abolition moving on in the midst of them, can not say to the slave States,—Your Constitutional securities shall be respected—their ground of opposition to the annexation of Texas will be greatly weakened, and the slave States will have a power of motive and a force of argument, which would not otherwise be felt. There is no other public question likely soon to rise in the public mind of this country, in the disposal of which political abolition in the North would so embarrass the friends of the Union. If this consideration should operate as fuel to the hopes of the abolition party, we should be very sorry; but it is too important, as a warning to the country, to pass unnoticed. A feeling that will be gratified in the approach of difficulties that will engender greater difficulties, and which possibly may end in what would startle common minds to think of, is one that ought to give us concern, if it is to have influence in contributing to such a result.

#### 18. *The suicidal character of political abolition.*

It is taken for granted, that, if political abolitionists were to vote for the one or the other of the two great parties of the country, they would not support the party that is opposed to emancipation in all forms, and which, in possession of power, would use it against abolitionists with a vengeance. There are numerous other reasons, political, moral, and religious, why the Abolitionists generally would not support that party. Their sympathies naturally run in another direction. But do they not see, that every *two* votes they give for political abolition, is *one* vote to raise that party to power, and defeat themselves, not only as to what they vote for, but in other great interests of society, to which they can not be indifferent, though they may shut their eyes to them?—This *diverted* action of political power—it is averred to be 40,000 votes in the free States—in a nice balance of the two great parties, may throw the government of the States and the nation into hands that will ruin us all, as they have heretofore tried to do, with no small success. By this means, the political Abolitionists have again and again defeated the candidates they would most of them otherwise vote for, both for State and national legislation and government, and raised to power men with whom they have little or no sympathy, political, social, moral, or religious.

#### 19. *The responsibility of using the franchise, or ballot, for political abolition.*

Such a use of the ballot is political abolition itself. We hope it may be quite unnecessary to say, that we can not innocently violate our allegiance to the State, for a benevolent object; and we trust we have satisfactorily shown, that the slavery of the slave States is placed *beyond* the Constitutional power of the free States by the compact of the Union. Is there, then, no responsibility in attempting to break down a foreign power—foreign to us,—by such weapons? A mission of benevolence, which might otherwise be very commendable, becomes a crime, when moral obligations are trampled under foot in the enterprise. By what authority can we violate a covenant, to do a good act?—Shall we say, that the good to be attained is *paramount*, and erect our individual *feelings* into a court to set aside *public law*?

But to the responsibility arising from moral considerations, is to be added that of disregard to the general welfare of the republic. Is it not strange, unnatural, that American citizens, by casting their votes where they have no chance of success, should thus contribute to augment and perpetuate the common misfortunes of the country, by raising men to power, who, they know, are advocates of destructive measures? More than this:—are these Abolition voters *conscientious men—religious*? How, then, before God, can they be acquitted, if *by their means*, such men as Robert Dale Owen, a *partner* of Fanny Wright, and member of the 28th Congress, and Ely Moore, of the Fanny Wright school, and member of the 24th and 25th Congresses, elected by the infidel ticket, are to make laws for this nation: and if such men as

Thomas Hertell, also of the Fanny Wright school, who, in 1833, moved in the legislature of New York, to lay on the table the motion for daily prayers during the Session, and thus stifled the public recognition of Providence—are to make laws for the States? Like the dog in the manger, the political abolitionists will neither eat hay, nor allow a hungry ox to eat it.

Yet more than this:—*Suppose*—for there is no reasonable motive for such action without some hope of success—*Suppose*, that, by one step, and in one year, the political Abolitionists could attain supreme power in the nation. Knowing their designs, because they are declared, would not every reflecting man tremble at the consequences? Are there many men in their own ranks, that would dare to look such a posture of public affairs in the face? The same, precisely, is the character, object, and peril of the enterprise, in the position which it now occupies, and in the successive stages of its actual progress. Every man who votes that way at the polls, incurs this tremendous responsibility. He can not disengage himself from the obligations of an American citizen, and say, he will leave the Constitution to take care of itself, or vote to break it down. The American Government may be imperfect in some of its parts—what human edifice is not? But it is a great, a responsible, a momentous trust, confided to the ballot-box. It was a great compromise of feeling and interest between numerous parties, and was formed under circumstances of peculiar trial. Now, that some of the parties have waxed strong by the profit of the Union, will they dare to take the responsibility of upsetting it, because some one or more of its terms do not suit them? Are they at liberty, as conscientious men, to do it? The object they have in view, is neither within the sphere of their political, nor of their social duty, however their moral feelings may be so inclined. Surely they will not plead conscience to violate a contracted obligation, to go out on a mission of benevolence!

## 20. The spirit of bragging.

It gives us pain and anxiety, whenever we hear people of one part of the Union boasting, that they can do without the other. We entreat all such to consider, that the American Government, and American society, imperfect though it may be, cost too much to be made thus light of. It is too important in itself, and too important as a spectacle to the world. From the time of its setting up till this hour, the whole world have been gazing at it as a great experiment, and it still occupies that position in the public eye of mankind. And are we who are responsible for its operation, and for the results it may work out, so to trifle with the trust, as to commit it all to the winds of chance again, because it is not so perfect as we could wish?—Do we prefer the hazards of a civil commotion, for the possibility of a more speedy social improvement, to the slower progress of a pacific reform!

## 21. Misrepresentation—Exaggeration.

The way to excite sympathy, is to sketch a strong and glowing picture of suffering under injustice. It is in this way, that abolition preachers, lecturers, books, and papers, have labored to work on the feelings of those who know nothing of slavery by actual observation. They have misrepresented facts, and given exaggerated accounts. They have not only been careful to tell nothing but the worst things of slavery, but they have made the bad worse than it is.

Not to justify slavery—God forbid we should do that—it is nevertheless true, that nearly all the evils ascribed to it, may be found in other regions and in other relations of society, in forms equally aggravated, though not, perhaps, in cases equally numerous. Do we hear of owners of slaves treating them with great severity, or maiming, or killing them, in a fit of passion? The same is to be found, in the relations of masters and apprentices, of parents and children, of husbands and wives, in the free States. Are slaves, in some cases, as on the cotton, sugar, and rice plantations, over-worked? If we take the evidence of British Parliamentary records, furnished by Government Commissioners, there is a greater amount of oppression of this kind inflicted on the half million of operatives in British manufactories, than on the whole two million and a half of slaves in the United States, as derived from any sources of evidence whatever. Does the extensive mingling of European and African blood evince the prevalence of the crime that produced it? We have not, indeed, the same species of evidence to establish this indictment against the white population of the free States; but there are other proofs of the fact to a wide extent. To the domestic slave-trade, and its consequent moral and social evils, there is confessedly no exact parallel in the free States; nevertheless, there are practices of the same moral character, leading to like results. As to acts of cruelty and inhumanity, of maiming and killing, they are not peculiar to a state of slavery; and the interest of masters in preserving unharmed the physical constitution of their slaves, is a better security against inhumanity, than any laws of society. In British manufactories, masters have not the same motives of interest to preserve the physical vigor of operatives by humane treatment, as the maimed and the helpless are cast on the parish. Hence we find, that the human constitution is more frequently destroyed, in British factories, by overwork and cruel treatment, than among the slaves of the United States. A case of the latter is rarely to be found, while those of the former are numerous.

This, we believe, is a fair statement. But it would doubtless subtract somewhat from the force of abolition preaching, among those who depend for information on the lecturers.

## 22. But it is slavery.

This can not be denied. But the Abolitionists are doing nothing to help that. Not a single step have they yet taken tending to relieve the doom, but every measure they have adopted, has only served to confirm it, and to make it worse. They *proclaim* liberty, and *establish* slavery. They have stepped into the path of emancipation, arrested its progress, and put it back, no one can tell how long.

This consideration, established as it is by *fact*, ought to have great weight on the conscience of those who, we think, must stand responsible before God and man, first, for having turned the favorable feeling toward emancipation in those who alone have power to effect it, into disfavor, and to a large extent, into opposition; and secondly, for having made the condition of slaves much worse, and more hopeless, than it was before.

We are aware, that some Abolitionists will fly from this charge, by saying, they are not responsible for consequences, after having done their duty. But the very question of duty depends, in part, on a consideration of consequences. If, before action, it should be said, we can not believe in such consequences, or we trust it will not be so, there might be some apology for ignorance. But, when the consequences have actually come to pass, and give a sure index of a continued result of the same character, from the same cause, we do not see how there can be any apology or excuse for such action.

The following are facts of history, as they bear on this question: 1. The Constitution of the United States has left slavery in the slave States, entirely under the control of those States. No persons, and no power, foreign to those States, can reach or touch slavery in their bounds, without their consent. 2. There was a growing favor, in the slave States, toward emancipation, before Northern Abolition commenced its movement toward and upon them. This feeling had existed, to a wide extent, among the greatest and most influential men of those States, and commendable efforts were in progress among slaveholders, to meliorate the condition of slaves, to instruct, moralize, and Christianize them, and to prepare the way for whatever of good might result from such efforts. The State of Virginia had made a powerful movement in a Convention called to amend the Constitution, and in her legislature, for an Act of emancipation. But, 3. It is no less true, as all know, that this feeling has been repressed, and this movement checked, since Northern Abolition broke out, the former being the effect of the latter as a cause. The intellectual and moral improvement of the slaves has been to a great extent suspended, and they have been treated with greater rigor. Their bondage has been made stronger, and its evils aggravated.

Is there no responsibility in this, when it was known, that there was a Constitutional barrier, over which Northern Abolition, as a political movement, could not pass, and when it *might*, and therefore *should* have been known, that, by moral necessity, such would be the effect of such a cause? Though it should be said, it is wrong that the slave States should have been so provoked, is there no wrong in the provocation? We can not but feel, that the *provokers* will be held responsible for this result, as well in the court of heaven, as in the moral sense of mankind. It can not be denied, that they have laid waste that garden of good feeling in the slave States, which Providence had planted and nourished so long, and which promised so much good fruit for the benefit of the slave, and converted it into something like a sterile wilderness. Nor can it be denied, that, by the same means, the chains of slavery have been riveted tighter than before, its evils enhanced, and its prospects darkened. We speak of *facts*, and all know, that these are facts, and that such is the *CAUSE*.

## 23. What the people of this country will not permit.

In our opinion, they will not permit the Constitution of the United States to be broken, to accomplish the ends of Abolition. The Constitutional boundaries of influence and control over slavery, are now pretty well recognised by all parties. They have been much better defined since the movement of Northern political Abolition commenced, than before. This debate, and this recognition of the Constitutional rule on the subject, have brought multitudes in the free States to a pause, who were otherwise disposed to favor this movement, and who are always ready to do everything *Constitutional* for the Abolition of slavery throughout the Union. This feeling of respect for the Constitution, and of opposition to slavery, is the prevailing feeling of the free States; and for our part, we desire it may ever be so. In this state of things, since the people of the free States can not Constitutionally, in the use of their political rights, step over the bounds into the slave States, to act upon the institution of slavery, they will very naturally, and for aught we can see, may very properly, desire and require to be rid of its responsibility, being, as they generally are, conscientiously opposed to it. This, we doubt not, the slave States will be disposed to grant. It can hardly be denied, that the people of the free States have had reason to feel, that heretofore they have been made in some degree responsible for slavery by the action of the Federal authorities, by requirements made of their

own State authorities, and in other ways. It is probable, however, that results of this kind will be very much, if not satisfactorily relieved, by the operation of the principles settled in 1842 by the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Prigg vs. the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*. That decision must necessarily be respected by all parties. We have assumed, in the former part of this Tract, that the free States are not responsible for slavery, which we believe to be sound doctrine resulting from the terms of the Union. Consequently, they can not fairly be made *practically* responsible. Let this be understood and acted upon by all parties, and we do not see any insuperable difficulty in maintaining harmoniously the original terms of the Union of these States. All minor controverted questions, arising out of slavery, can only be settled by time and the regular action of Constitutional authorities.

#### 24. What follows.

By such an adjustment of the slave question, which has so long and so greatly agitated the public mind of this country, it will follow, if we mistake not, that slavery must be left where the Constitution has placed it, on the responsibility, and under the control of the States in which it exists. It will also follow, that any political action, originating in the free States, to act on the slavery of slave States, will not only be necessarily ineffectual, but improper and injurious. It will follow, moreover, that a return to the original mode of action on slavery for its abolition, *by moral means*, is the only course, which the opposers of slavery in the free States, can Constitutionally pursue. With this, will also follow the hope of an ultimate attainment of the end. Manifestly, there is no hope for it as a result of political Abolition in the free States. Every aspect of the question has only waxed worse and worse, and the end in view has been placed at a farther remove by this agitation, as we have before had occasion to notice, and the facts of which are undisputed. *Moral means* have heretofore operated well. They are the means of Christianity—means which God himself has ordained, benevolent in character, and beneficent in their effect.

#### 25. The duty of anti-slave men in the free States as American citizens.

They can not of course disregard their obligations of fealty to the Constitution of the United States, for any *foreign* object, however good and meritorious it might be in itself considered. It would be equally proper for them to violate the Constitution to suppress slavery in any of the nations of Europe, or in any other foreign parts, as to violate it to suppress slavery in any of the States of this Union. As regards slavery, the States are as independent of each other, and of the General Government, as any two nations are in their relations.

All citizens of the free States, therefore, who desire to see an end of slavery in this Union, by Constitutional means, can hardly have failed to have their attention arrested by the deplorable spectacle exhibited in the slave States, as the result of Northern political Abolition, in the putting back of the work of emancipation so far and so greatly, in destroying the better feelings of masters toward their slaves, and in creating a strong current of feeling in those States against any purpose or plan of emancipation whatever. They must have seen, that political Abolition in the free States, has committed an error, not only of infinite magnitude, but of a corresponding responsibility. As friends of the slave, therefore, as the enemies of slavery in all forms, and as good citizens, owing allegiance to the Constitution, we think they can not fail to see a line of duty marked out to them, which will induce them, not only to abstain from countenancing, but to lend all their influence in opposing so destructive and hopeless an enterprise as political Abolition. If a "tree be known by its fruits," the evidence of its character in this case, one would think, ought to be deemed sufficient.

#### 26. Indications of Providence.

It is the prerogative of Providence to bring good out of evil, and out of the evil actions of men. Observe the following facts: 1. African slavery, in the West, was begun by the nations of Europe. 2. Those very nations, including those which sprung from them in this Western world, are now, for the most part, acting in concert to suppress the slave trade. 3. Christian philanthropists, from among these nations, are making simultaneous efforts, to explore Africa, to develop its resources and capabilities, to Christianize and civilize its tribes, and to present inducements for lawful commerce. Witness the plans and progress of African Colonization from the United States, and corresponding labors in Great Britain, for the benefit of the African race. 4. The torrid regions of Africa appear to be the natural home of the colored races, and as such constitute a Providential indication of the course to be pursued by those who seek to elevate and establish them in a social and political standing among the nations of the earth. 5. Great, atrocious, and indisputable, as was the crime of the slave trade, which has justly received the reprobation of all mankind, it has nevertheless been so overruled by Providence, that those portions of the race which have survived the cruelties and inhumanities inflicted, have been improved and elevated in a state of slavery. They are the best portions of the race, and most capable of doing good to their brethren, whenever a general emancipation shall be effected. 6. The slaves of the United States are the best and most capable portions



of the race anywhere, to be found. 7. And consequently, the crime of man, for which neither defence, nor palliation, can be made, may be overruled by Providence for the general good of the race, when a plan of universal emancipation shall be perfected and carried out. That the tendencies of human society are in that direction, is sufficiently evident. To retard this movement, by attempting to precipitate the event with violent means, is what we object to.

Believing in the progress of society, we may see, in this great circle of Providence, an apparent preparation for the social elevation and political independence of the African race. This grand result, however, can not be forced. A race so debased as the African tribes were, when they themselves, in barbarous warfare, made captives of each other, for purposes of trade, and thus originated this public mart of their own flesh and blood, were never known to be raised to the highest conditions of man's earthly existence in a brief period.

If the United States were one State, a political movement for the emancipation of slaves, might be hopeful of good. It is still so in any component parts of the slave States. But any movement of this kind, foreign to those States, designed to act upon them, will of course be regarded as an interference, in view of the terms of the Union, and thus, by moral causes, thrust in by force upon the surface of society, this great movement of Providence, gradually and constantly developing, in favor of the African race, is arrested and put backward.

#### 27. *The best judges.*

It is very uncharitable, and not less injurious to the cause of emancipation, for those who know nothing of slavery by experience or observation, to undertake to dictate to slaveholders how they shall act. It is injurious, because they who give this advice, have no power of control, and it is only regarded as an interference. It is uncharitable to condemn slaveholders in the mass, because a large portion of them solemnly aver, apparently in all good conscience, that they look upon slavery as an evil, and desire to see an end of it, but are deterred from immediate emancipation by considerations of humanity to the slaves themselves. The sweeping and indiscriminate denunciations of Abolitionists on all slaveholders, have a pernicious effect on those who are favorable to emancipation. They know, at least they think, that slavery, as a question of moral casuistry between themselves and God, is one which can not be fairly adjudicated by those who know nothing about it.

#### 28. *Where the power lies.*

It is manifest from what has been said, that the power of emancipation is vested exclusively in the slave States, as far as respects slavery in their own bounds.

#### 29. *Northern Abolition inhuman.*

We do not mean that it is so by design, but in effect. Doubtless the design is quite the contrary. But the effect, as we have seen, and as all eyes must observe, is to put obstacles in the way of emancipation, and to defer the day to an unknown period. The way in which Northern political Abolition has been managed, is the unkindest thing that could be done for the slave, and most subversive of the cause of humanity, because they have no power in the case, by such weapons, except to do harm to the cause which they profess to espouse.

#### 30. *The most effective way.*

The moral position of the free States, eschewing slavery, and denouncing it, side by side as they stand with the slave States, and members of the same great national family, is one of great force, and can not fail of its influence, on a large scale, and with great effect. Recognising the limit of their power for political action, as defined by the Constitution, they are then at liberty to employ all moral and social influences, by speech and the press, which private citizens may choose to put and keep in action. In that course, they would find numerous allies in the slave States, and among slaveholders, as formerly.

#### 31. *The moral influence of the antislavery feeling in the free States is suppressed, by the existence of political Abolition in the North.*

Not only so, but the tendency of the controversy raised by it, is to abate this feeling of antipathy and opposition to slavery. It is the natural feeling of the free States, and ought to be cherished by them. But while they are obliged to contend against political Abolitionists, they are in danger of imbibing a feeling of toleration toward slavery itself. In the meantime, their moral influence against slavery is almost necessarily suspended. It is hardly possible for them to act in this field, as formerly, lest they should be suspected or accused of alliance with political Abolitionists; so that the effect of political Abolition is not confined to the positive injury it is constantly doing, by putting obstacles in the way of emancipation, in the slave States; but it puts a stop to the cause of emancipation in all forms, and in all quarters, and suspends, for the time being, nearly all action and influence of the entire anti-slavery phalanx of the Union. They can do nothing, while these mischief-workers are in the field; but are forced to be employed in preventing the evil of their machinations.

### 32. *Republican inconsistency—American Declaration of Independence.*

The following clause of the Declaration of American Independence:—"We hold these truths to be self-evident—That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among them are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—is often quoted, in the ears of Americans, with the finger pointed to American slavery; nor can it be denied, that the principles here announced, are a condemnation of the fact. Nevertheless, the purpose for which that Declaration was framed, and the object to which it was then applied, was simply to deny the divine right of kings, and the claimed prerogatives of high birth, and to assert and establish the right of a people to govern themselves. That the principles here stated are more comprehensive than this, there is no doubt, and that they apply to slavery anywhere, must also be admitted. But there is no inconsistency in this Declaration, as it was applied by those who framed and adopted it, they having exclusive regard to the relations of the Colonies to the British Crown, and to the tyranny of the latter over the former.

Thomas Jefferson, the Author of the Declaration, professed to be an emancipationist. His views on slavery were frequently and freely expressed, and the following passage in his original draft of the Declaration of Independence, not adopted, will show where he put the blame:—"He" (the king) "has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur a miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms against us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he also obtruded them—thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

Mr. Jefferson also took the first opportunity, after the separation, and during the war, to cause an act to be passed in the Virginia legislature, to prohibit the importation of slaves. And the other slave States followed the example.

### 33. *Slavery a wrong.*

Slavery is undoubtedly a wrong done to the natural rights of those enslaved, and the earliest possible emancipation, when unable to gain their own freedom, will be contrived and effected for them by those who appreciate the value of the right. But when it is to be effected by offices of mediation, it is a moral enterprise, and the master is to be consulted. If it is to be done by force, it is a political enterprise, and the cost must be counted.

### 34. *But the wrong should be righted, and righted now.*

That it should be righted, we agree; but that righting it now, will itself be right, is a question; and that may depend on many other questions. 1. It may depend on who did the wrong. If he can be found, it is doubtless incumbent on him to set about righting it instantly. 2. If he can not be found, the question is, who is to act as his substitute? 3. It may depend on the present condition of the subject of the wrong. 4. In any case, it depends on who is to undertake it. As a crusade, it might be a wrong interference. 5. As to the great, complicated, stupendous question of slavery, questions equally great, complicated, and stupendous, are involved in its abolition.

### 35. *The Buffalo Abolition Convention—Their Manifesto.*

In August, 1843, a national Convention of political Abolitionists assembled at Buffalo, N. Y., and nominated a President and Vice President of the United States, to be voted for in 1844, at which time they published the following Manifesto, as their latest creed, which, we suppose, is the best authority:

"Whereas, The Constitution of these United States is a series of agreements, covenants, or contracts between the people of the United States, each with all and all with each; and

"Whereas, it is a principle of universal morality, that the moral laws of the Creator are paramount to all human laws; or, in the language of the Apostle, that "we ought to obey God rather than men;" and

"Whereas, the third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States,—when construed as providing for the surrender of a fugitive slave—does "rest upon such a basis," in that it is a contract to rob a man of a natural right—namely, his natural right to his own liberty; and, therefore, absolutely void—

"Therefore, Resolved, That we hereby give it to be distinctly understood, by this nation and the world, that, as Abolitionists, considering that the strength of our cause lies in its righteousness, and our hope for it in our conformity to the Laws of God and our respect for the RIGHTS of MAN, we owe it to the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe as a proof of our allegiance to Him, in all our civil relations and offices, whether as private citizens, or as public functionaries sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, to

regard and to treat the third clause of the fourth article of that instrument, whenever applied to the case of a fugitive slave, as utterly null and void, and consequently, as forming no part of the Constitution of the United States, whenever we are called upon, or sworn, to support it."

As we are not in controversy with these gentlemen as to the *validity* of the claim of the slave to his emancipation, we fully according thereunto, but only as to their *mode* of accomplishing the end, and also as to the *ground* on which this document asserts the claim, we ask attention to a few remarks on the Manifesto itself.

It must be confessed, that this is an extraordinary, and a somewhat *startling* document. How the *conscientious* men of their party will be able to digest the *Resolution* that sets aside a part of the Constitution of the United States, pronouncing it "*utterly null and void*," which, indeed, *annihilates* it, "as forming *no part* of the Constitution," is more than we can say. It is manifest, that a right to strike out this part, is a right to strike away the whole; and so far as we can see, the blow at this part, is a blow at the whole. We can not feel it is too much to say, that that sacred and venerable Charter of our Government, the cost of which shook this Continent and shook the world, is here taken in hand, cast upon the ground, and stamped upon, as of no worth and no authority.

The reasoning by which this act is justified, is no less extraordinary. The whole transaction is based on the *authority of religion*, as interpreted by the actors, and invokes its highest sanction, "the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe." It is true, that another element of authority is picked up, by going back to a supposed state of man before he enters into society, commonly called "the state of nature," out of which grow "natural laws," and "natural rights;" but *religion* is the foundation, superstructure, and finish of the whole. We will first dispose of the *profane* part of the argument, or the *law of nature* part.

Let it be observed, that we do not undertake to *disprove*, that man has "natural rights," or that the claim of a slave to freedom is a valid one, both of which we fully accord to. We only wonder, that a conclusion of such tremendous consequence, as that arrived at in this document, should have no other profane authority (*profane* in distinction from *sacred*), brought to its support, than the undefined rule of "natural right."

"The law of nature," says Blackstone, "is the will of God." Justinian says, "it is to live honestly." Blackstone's comment on this, is, "not to injure society." "The *foundation*" of natural law, Blackstone says, is, "that man should pursue his own true and substantial happiness," which, he adds, is "the *substance* of the law of God." He also says, that "to *know* the law of nature, it is necessary to have recourse to *reason*;" but he adds, as man's "reason is corrupt, and his understanding full of ignorance and error," "immediate and direct revelation, to be found only in the Holy Scriptures," is to be consulted.

NATHAN DANE, the great American jurist, speaks of "the laws of nature and reason, made by God himself." "The law of nature," he says, "is a perfect rule, but is understood only by a *right use of reason*." "A state of nature," he says, "wants a *common judge*," which society sets up. Again:—"Civil laws are those of nature *modified and perfected*." Again:—"A state of nature is a state of *despotism and wretchedness*," because, "if one may do as he pleases, another may, and each is his own judge, and judges the Judges." He says that justice in this way is obtained, "not probably more than once in twenty cases." Again:—"In a state of nature, heated and passionate men are the judges." "Hence," he says; "it is easy to see how much this poor free man's liberty, so much extolled by some, is worth to him, on the whole."

We have made these quotations, merely to show what an *indefinite and unsettled* rule the law of nature is. The more we cite legal authorities to this point, the more we shall be puzzled. They themselves don't pretend to understand it. Like sensible men, they set themselves to determine what law is as *fixed by society*, and they know no other. That there are "natural rights," which men may be compelled to resort to on emergencies, there is no doubt; but, instead of being the best, or even good authority, in the social state, they are the worst and most dangerous possible. They are for extremities, as a necessity, not for common use. The result of the whole is, as stated above, by Mr. Dane—that "*civil laws* are those of nature *modified and perfected*." The aims of the structure of civil jurisprudence have been, to ascertain, as well as could be, the *law of nature*, so called, by a general concurrence of opinion, and with Christian jurists, as Blackstone above intimates, by consulting "an immediate and direct revelation," the Bible. The best authority, therefore, is not to go back to a *state of nature*—for that is where man first began, and is, as Mr. Dane above says, "a state of *despotism and wretchedness*;"—but it is to consult that system of jurisprudence, which the wisdom and justice of many ages, and the most civilized and Christian nations, have established.

A man alone in the world, in a state of nature, would doubtless have a right—call it "natural," if you please—to anything he can lay his hand upon—a right to go where he pleases, and do what he pleases, except as his Creator might command otherwise. But the moment he enters into society, this liberty, or system of natural rights, is abridged, while other rights are multiplied; and if the state of society is good, his *newly-acquired* rights are more valuable.

ble. His former liberty, or natural rights, *yield* to the regulations of society; and we can not think of any one of them which may not be affected, or even taken away, by such regulations. The right to breathe, for example, is the strongest of all natural rights; but society assumes the right to stop a man's breath by hanging, if his acts should expose him to such a sentence of the law. We can not conceive of a government of *law*, which recognises any other authority than that of the laws themselves, in determining social rights. They may be right, or they may be wrong. Nevertheless, while they exist, they are the rule. To oppose them, is rebellion; to live without law, is anarchy; or what Mr Dane calls the "despotism and wretchedness of a *state of nature*." To give "*natural rights*" as authority to resist law, is the most indefinite rule, and the most dangerous authority, that could be adduced.

And yet, *let it be observed*, that "natural right" is the *only* authority, on which this Buffalo Abolition Convention Manifesto is founded! It is first *assumed*, then merged in *religion*, and "the Supreme Ruler of the Universe" is made responsible for the *result*! He is appealed to, his sanction is invoked, and it is all done in his name! The whole of it, from beginning to end, is a *religious business, based on a religious sentiment*! Read it, and judge.

### 36. *The proper rule.*

We take the settled and *definite* opinions of mankind, as collected and recorded in the most approved systems of civil jurisprudence, and as established in the most free Governments and most liberal institutions of human society, to establish the claim of the slave to his freedom. These are *recognised* authorities, from which nobody can escape. The American Declaration of Independence *alone* is sufficient. And we take these established principles, to work with them by ways, and means equally well established. *Here is the essential, the vital, the momentous point*, in which we differ from political Abolitionists.

### 37. *Church and State.*

There is not a more religious people in the world, than we of the United States; yet no people have been more scrupulous, by their State papers, by practical legislation, and by general feeling, in separating religion from a participation in the authorities of State. They give full scope to the *moral* influence of religion, but jealously deny to it *political power*. *If there be any one principle more firmly settled in the public mind of this country, or better established, by universal consent, and with fixed purpose, than another, or all others, we think it is, THAT RELIGION SHALL NOT USURP AUTHORITY IN THE AFFAIRS OF GOVERNMENT.*

### 38. *Political Abolition a religious movement.*

Look at this Buffalo Manifesto. Is it not a religious document? "The moral laws of the Creator are paramount to all human laws;" "we ought to obey God, rather than man;" "considering that, as Abolitionists, the strength of our cause lies in its righteousness, and our hope for it in our conformity to the laws of God;" "we owe it to the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, as a proof of our allegiance to Him," &c., "to regard and to treat the third clause of the fourth Article of the Constitution of the United States," &c., "*as utterly null and void*," &c. Is not religion the rule, the sanction, the *everything* involving responsibility in this transaction? Nor is it a declaration of principles *to suffer*, but of principles *to act*; nor of *submission*, but of *aggression*; nor for the use of *moral* means alone, but to take hold on *political power*; they are a *political party*, and were at that moment assembled to nominate a President and Vice President of the United States!

Men, making the highest religious pretensions, have taken lead, and are at the head of the movement; numerous religious papers are employed to advocate it; a large corps of religious missionaries are in the field to preach it; numerous churches and pulpits are chiefly devoted to it, and are thence called Abolition Churches; its most religious Champion, Mr. Gerritt Smith, has publicly announced, that he will go forth, and preach the doctrine in Christian pulpits, on the Christian Sabbath; and religion everywhere is the high and holy sanction relied upon to enforce the doctrine. Nearly all the political Abolitionists, and with scarcely an exception, all the abolition preachers, lecturers, and missionaries, are religious men. It is, indeed, a *proper religious enterprise*. In this statement we have disclosed A GREAT, IMPORTANT, MOMENTOUS FACT.

### 39. *Confession of a leading Abolitionist.*

Since we published the first edition of this Tract, we have had a conversation with a leading Abolitionist, than whom no one has been more prominent or more influential as such. He expressed a wish, that we would make some alterations in this sheet, for greater good, as we have done. We were surprised at the interest he took in it, and are only sorry we could not follow his advice in all its extent. He said, "The Abolitionists, as a body, are honest people, ~~but their leaders are corrupt and unprincipled.~~" We were startled at this, coming from such a source; but he repeated with emphasis:—"THE LEADERS ARE CORRUPT AND UNPRINCIPLED." We were forced to believe, that such was his conviction, and that no man knew better. It was said so seriously, so emphatically, and apparently with such honesty of

purpose, that we have taken the liberty to think, he would not object, that the public should be aware of it.

#### 40. *"We must obey God rather than man."*

So says the Buffalo Manifesto, having *assumed* the thing to be proved, viz: that God commands it. It is obvious there is no answer to this reason, or no reasoning with such persons, if they *think* they have such authority. If they could prove their mission by miracles, it would be sufficient; but as this is only *their opinion*, a sentiment of their *own*, the conscience of those who think otherwise, is at least as good as theirs, and worthy of as much respect. Other Christians, and the great majority think, that God has not commanded this; that, in the days of the Apostles, when the state of political society was a great deal worse than it is now, and slavery far worse and more extensive, as history attests, not only was submission to "the powers that be," enjoined on all Christians, even to martyrdom, but "servants" (*slaves*) were commanded "to obey their masters in *all things*;" that St. Paul sent back Onesimus, a fugitive slave, to his master, Philemon, to be treated according to his will, thereby recognising Philemon's authority in the case; that the Apostles not only had a special authority by immediate revelation from God in regard to the matters referred to when they said, "We ought to obey God rather than man," but that they did not say this as a reason for disobeying existing regulations of society; that both Christ and his Apostles were most scrupulous observers of all such regulations, and could always defend themselves on that ground; that the duty of such submission to such authorities is paramount to man's individual right to arraign the law; that obedience to civil society results from Divine command; that political society, as it exists at any time, in any place, is "the ordinance of God," requiring our submission; that God's government, or Christ's kingdom is *moral*, in distinction from the political edifices of man; and that the design of Christianity is to avail itself of the order of political society, without being responsible for its defects, to *set all things right, by making all hearts good*. Hence, as *they* think, the scrupulous care and frequent injunctions of Christ and his Apostles *not to disturb society*, as its peace and order are necessary to accomplish the aims of Christianity.

#### 41. *A Deduction.*

If the above thoughts are correct—we believe they are—it will follow, that no man can, with propriety or good reason, invoke Divine authority to justify a use of political power in upsetting political society, or reforming the State. If a Christian employs political power to attain what he thinks desirable in the State, he does it as a member of the political commonwealth, and not as being on a mission from God, armed with a Divine command, imperative on himself, and which he may proclaim as imperative on all others. No Christian, in our view, is authorized to invoke such a Divine sanction for such an act. It is, if we mistake not, identical with the principle, which we, as American citizens and American freemen, in our organization of political society, have very distinctly and very emphatically repudiated, viz: the authority of religion in the State and over it. And yet, as all will see, this is precisely the sanction of the Buffalo Manifesto, and precisely the principle on which that document is founded. The American people have solemnly resolved and declared, *against* the usurpation of authority in the State by religion. And yet, *here it is, sprung upon us by surprise*, by the public act of a public Convention, with the declared object of overrunning and revolutionizing the State, and the first step taken has been to plant its foot on the Supreme law of the land, proclaiming a part of it, "to this nation and to the world," "AS UTTERLY NULL AND VOID"—"ABSOLUTELY VOID!"

#### 42. *The actual junction of religion and political power.*

They have organized as a party on the platform of this religious-political creed; they have nominated a President and Vice President of the United States; they have gone forth into the field, established presses, opened churches, and set up pulpits; they have an army of agents and missionaries; their candidate for the Presidency, himself acting as an *agent and missionary*, boasted in Faneuil Hall, Boston, that they had increased from 7,000 in 1839, to 35,000 in 1843; and that it is an actual junction of religion and political power, appears from the facts, that religion is the sentiment, and the machinery of State the means employed to accomplish the end. If we rightly understand the essential elements of Church and State united, apart from the accidents of *form*, this appears to be the thing. It comprises the most potent agencies of the kind recognised in history, as it takes hold of the fundamental power of the State, and would sweep all before it, when once it shall have gained the ascendancy.

#### 43. *The Abolition Church.*

It is the party, and the party is a religious brotherhood. They have one creed, one faith, one baptism. To all others intolerant and denunciatory, they regard themselves as the only *pure* Church. They call, not only their political, but their religious opponents, "a brotherhood of thieves," "manstealers," "robbers," "murderers," "adulterers," "liars," "infidels," &c.

We take these epithets, thus bestowed, as they come from their presses, and are heard from their pulpits.

44. *This the only mode by which Church and State can be united in this country.*

If it is to come at all, it will not come in the forms heretofore known in history, but it will *deal* upon us. The old form would be instantly recognised, and reprobated. But, to succeed, it must take a form corresponding with the popular modes of action in American society. Can anything be nearer to it than this? It is the very model, the perfect type of our social system, in an original popular movement. It is nothing more, nothing less, but the *very thing*. We have only to ask, what is the *element* of this movement? Is it religion? Or is it not? If it is, then it is Church and State, and an attempt to unite the two.

45. *This would be a fearful power, if it should prevail.*

It is a power that mounts the hobby of *one* principle to ride over all others—a sword that cuts all ties, however sacred, for the sake of cutting one admitted to be bad. They do not consider, that the great principles of the moral and social system are numerous, all having their respective claims, and that, like men, in society, they modify each other, in their practical application; but they take *one* out from all the rest, and propound it as an *abstraction* to govern the world—to break down every other that comes in its way.

It is no disparagement to state the well-known fact, that all religious sects have their favorite opinions, and often *one* favorite opinion. Holding them dear, they of course wish to see them reduced to practice, and if they had the power, they would not only urge them eloquently, but, preadventure, would enforce them rigorously. It is for this reason that religion is held to be a dangerous power in the State—certainly so, until we can be sure that the opinions adopted are sound. If a favorite opinion of a religious sect is unsound, and if it is to become a *hobby in power*, to be enforced any how, and by whatever means, it then becomes a *terrible power*. History exhibits too melancholy a record of devastations wrought in society by this cause, not to be a solemn warning.

46. *A difference between religion and true religion.*

There are a thousand, not to say ten thousand religions in the world, but only one that is *true*; and there are forms of Christianity by no means free from error. As a general rule, the more intolerant, fierce, and bloody a religion is, the farther is it from the pure religion of a pure Christianity. Is not political abolition intolerant? Is it not fierce? And who will say, that, in all its tendencies, it is not rushing onward to the opening of rivers and seas of blood?

47. *The duty of all true Christians in regard to this movement.*

The time is coming, *has come*, when religion, in the face and in violation of the American political creed and of American fundamental political law, is to be made responsible for an attempt to usurp the powers of State. It behooves all true Christians among us, to see, that *Christianity* is not held responsible for this. Christianity, rightly interpreted and properly understood, can not, in our view, be responsible for it. We do not deny, on the contrary we admit and believe, that many true Christians, with sincere and conscientious minds, have been and are being persuaded into the ranks of this religious-political sect, and that it is chiefly effected by an appeal to their religious feelings. They are persuaded to believe things which are not true, and they listen to interpretations of Divine command, which are unwarranted in the application that is made of them. The line of demarcation between "rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," is effaced from their minds by the doctrines they read in abolition papers, and hear from abolition pulpits, and they lose sight of that great and fundamental principle of American institutions, equally important and equally precious to all freemen and to all religious sects, viz: that religion shall not have authority in the State, and may not usurp it. They are told, that "we ought to obey God rather than man;"—but they are not told that one part of such obedience is to "submit to the powers that be," that is, to the ordinances of civil society. The very precept that is invoked to lead them astray, is most directly in point to keep them right. They do not see, for the time being, though they may afterward see it with regret and sorrow, that religion, taking hold of the machinery of State, as religion, is entirely out of place, not only in regard to the design of our political institutions, but equally so in regard to the design of Christianity. The latter, in maintaining the character of a "kingdom not of this world," has a loftier mission, and more universal functions, than to raise a conflict with political powers, by using political weapons. Its errand is with the *heart*, and its power is *over* the heart. Its *moral* power is disarmed, the moment it resorts to *political* power, and God is no longer with it. The spirit has fled, and it is not Christianity, whatever may be its pretensions; nor can Christianity be made responsible for that which its precepts and spirit alike forbid. If these are just thoughts, every true Christian, as well as every true patriot, will be apprized of his duty in regard to political abolition. Most respectfully, most kindly, and with affectionate concern,

should we implore those Christians, who have honestly enlisted in this enterprise, to pause and consider. Their allegiance to God is doubtless first, highest, and most sacred. It is for that we invoke their allegiance to the State, because God has enjoined it. We implore them to consider both the scandal and prejudice that will attach to Christianity, by forcing religion into a political warfare, by buckling upon it a political harness, and putting into its hands political weapons, for an inevitable discomfiture. Can it for a moment be imagined, that the American people, having once opened their eyes to such an attempt, will tolerate it?

#### 48. *Great Britain and American Abolition.*

In the political aspects of this question, it is scarcely possible for us to shut our eyes to the fact, that American citizens should stand up in the world's Convention at London, and panders to the lust of empire, and of the world's empire, nourished in that capital and by the Government of that country, by denouncing the Government of the United States, and conspiring with those who would embrace the first opportunity to overturn our institutions in a servile and civil war. That the policy of Great Britain is *morally* allied to the abolition movement of this country, is certain. The language that has been used by American Abolitionists, in Exeter Hall, London, and in other public places of that empire, can not but be regarded as utterly hostile to that fealty which every American citizen owes to the Government of his country. When words, and such words, are so strong, can the heart be right? If they have not already conspired, can there be any doubt, that they *would at any moment* conspire with the Government of that country to overthrow the Government of this, to accomplish their end?—Doubtless they are looked upon as *fellow-workers*, whenever the British Government shall have occasion to employ them.

#### 49. *The denationalizing influence of political abolition.*

The conduct of American Abolitionists abroad, as above referred to, is an anomaly in the results of human society; at least, it is what no one could have anticipated, or would have predicted. If, indeed, there be anything in political abolition, which can so utterly *denationalize* Americans born, and set them against their own country, to denounce it publicly in foreign parts, and to show a disposition to enter into any conspiracy to overthrow the American Government, it is *high time* that so unpatriotic a movement be understood and appreciated.

#### 50. *Perjury.*

We must farther solicit that honest and conscientious portion of the community, who, with the most upright designs, have, as we believe, been seduced by the leaders of political abolition into that faith, to consider the position in which they are placed as *religious men*, by adhering to and acting with the Abolitionists, in the way proposed. How can they, as American citizens, bound by all the solemnities of an oath of allegiance to the Constitution and Government of the United States—for that oath is always implied in a ballot, and in many States actually administered as a qualification—how can they subscribe to such a declaration as the Buffalo Manifesto, and then vote the abolition ticket, or how can they vote that ticket at all, having such a declared object, without contracting the stain of *PERJURY* on their souls? And is not the Manifesto itself a subornation of perjury?

#### 51. *Another view of this perjury.*

It is certainly a most extraordinary case, as it is perjury *proposed*—and *publicly proposed*. In this view it is *shameless*. It is farther than crime has ever before presumed to go. To observe the spectacle it would present, if it were carried out. The proposal and enterprise is, to obtain a political ascendancy in the national councils, and to elect the Federal officers to administer the Government of the country. They *invite* this whole nation to perjure themselves at the ballot-box! Is it not so?—What a scene would that be! And they set up the *pulpit of religion* to persuade them into it! They profess to do it all in the name and by the sanction of “the Supreme Ruler of the Universe!”

When they shall have accomplished this end, the President elect is to stand up before the nation and the world, and take the following oath:—“I do solemnly swear, that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.” And he is to do this, with a proclamation in his right hand, before uttered and published, that he will do *neither*, and that he will violate *every part* of this oath! And the Vice President, and every member of Congress, and every Federal Officer, throughout the land, belonging to this party, is to do the same thing! Was such a scene ever before projected to be enacted in human society?—How it is *impossible* to come to any other result, under the Buffalo Manifesto, we are utterly unable to see. A perjured people, a perjured Government, a perjured nation, punishing, in a common court of justice, with the heaviest penalties, that by which they attained their eminence!

THE  
JUNIUS TRACTS.  
No. VI.

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JAN'Y.]

PUBLISHED EVERY SECOND MONTH.

[1844.

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DEMOCRACY.

BY JUNIUS.

Author of "THE CRIME OF THE COUNTRY," and other Tracts of 1840.

Price, 3 cents single, \$2 50 cts. per 100, or \$20 per 1000.

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## DEMOCRACY.

### § 1. *A story.*

A Member of the House of Representatives, in Congress, a friend of Mr. Van Buren, met a Whig Senator, in a steamboat, in the early part of the Presidential campaign of 1840, when the former said to the latter, "Your Log Cabin and Hard Cider is no go. We shall beat you." "How so?" asked the Senator. "Mr. Van Buren," answered the Member, "reclies upon the words *Democracy—Democrat—and Democratic*. We all rely upon them, as a party. While we wear this name, you can not beat us, but we shall beat you." This is a story of fact, told us, with some other details, by the Senator himself. It happened, however, for that occasion, that there was more democracy in "Log Cabin and Hard Cider," than there was in "*Democracy*" itself. The Member of the House was right, and the very reason he gave, prevailed on the other side.—Mr. Van Buren was beaten.

### § 2. *The Lesson.*

As the above is a story of fact, and as it doubtless tells a truth and confesses a secret, though perfectly obvious to all observing minds, the Whigs will be very simple, if they do not profit by the lesson. All know, that these self-styled "Democrats," place their chief reliance on this word, in its different forms of application. Not only so, but they rely equally on stigmatizing their opponents with the name of "Federalists." Look at the Globe and the other papers of that party throughout the Union. Is it not so? With an unwavering constancy they adhere to this rule, in print and in speech. They are aware of the importance of it. They "*rely*" upon it.

### § 3. *Etymology.*

The word *Democracy* is formed of the Greek words *Demos*, people, and *Krates*, to rule. Compounded, it signifies a *people-government*, in distinction from *Monarchy*, or *One Man government*. The word *Monarchy* is compounded of the Greek words *Monos*, sole, and *Arkos*, ruler, and means as above defined. In grammatical construction, therefore, these words, *Monarchy* and *Democracy*, stand opposed to each other, thus: Monarchy means the government of *One Man*, and Democracy a government by *the people*. There is a perfect grammatical purity and propriety in both, and they announce and declare precisely what they are intended to do.

### § 4. *Historical Origin.*

The term *Democracy*, we believe, was first applied to the small republics of Greece, where the people ruled in primary assemblies. Hence the word is of pure Greek origin. That was the purest kind of democracy, where the people avoided the representative forms of a republic, as much as possible, and enacted their laws, and made their decrees, in primary assemblies of the people, though it is obvious, that the executive functions of the Government were necessarily, for the most part, performed by individual and selected agents. The word, *Democracy*, is therefore of very ancient historical use, and has never since been laid aside, because men, in different parts of the world, have been constantly struggling for liberty, for a *people-government*, in opposition to the claims of Monarchy, or One Man Power. *Democracy* and *Monarchy*, *Democrat* and *Monarchist*, *Democratic* and *Monarchical*, in their several substantive and adjective forms, have passed down through all languages, in all countries, from their pure Greek origin, with little variation in form or meaning, always and everywhere standing opposed to each other, as correlative terms. The fact of this uniform and general use of these terms, with a uniform meaning, among all nations, for so many ages, three thousand years, more or less, is conclusive evidence, not only of the uninterrupted and equally extensive agitation of the political questions which they involve, but of the general tendency of society, all the world over, and of the persevering aims of mankind, for the universal establishment of *Democracy*, or a *people-government*.

### § 5. *The political position of these terms.*

This, we should think, ought to be considered as settled by the etymological derivation and historical origin and use above given. Such facts have a character of high and emphatic teaching. They have a potent influence over the mind of the world, high and low, in political philosophy, as well as in the hearts of those, who have felt the iron hand of monarchical power, and are struggling for release, or who have obtained their freedom. It is for *democracy* as opposed to *monarchy*, which the whole world are striving for, and which they are resolved to have.

### § 6. *De Tocqueville.*

De Tocqueville's "American Democracy" is very instructive, not alone for the objects he had in view, but it is especially pertinent to our present purpose, which he never thought of, simply because he never thought it could be made a question. He took for granted, that

the word, Democracy, in all history and in all countries, with all political sects, in political philosophy, and in the common mind, occupies precisely the same position as it does in grammar, to wit, as opposed to Monarchy. Hence he everywhere treats of democracy as standing in this relation, and only in this general and comprehensive sense. He assumes, that there are different kinds of democracy, as of monarchy, and undertakes to treat of *American* democracy as one of the varieties. We hardly need say, that, by American Democracy, De Tocqueville means our *popular form of government*, such as it actually is.

#### § 7. Other authorities.

In the same manner, all political writers of the old world, give the same meaning to these terms respectively, and uniformly use them in their relative grammatical sense. All attempts to put down monarchical power, and elevate the people, they call *Democracy*. It is the same in England. The antagonist of Monarchy there, is Democracy, and the growth of popular influence in the Government, and in general society, is used synonymously and interchangeably with the progress of Democratic power.

#### § 8. The feelings of immigrants.

There is probably not a single exception—we have never known one—in the case of emigrants from European states to this country, so far as political reasons enter into their motives, where they have not come over for *democracy* as opposed to *monarchy*. They come because they are *democrats*. Democracy was the object of their affection and the theme of their praise before they came, it was their song on the voyage, it is their anthem here, and they all go for it. It is because they hate monarchy, having, no doubt, the best of all reasons, a sad experience of its evils.

#### § 9. Republicanism.

It is a remarkable fact, that, while DEMOCRACY is a word of high and pure significance in the European world, representing simply what we have already indicated, to wit, a *people-government*, in distinction from Monarchy, the words, *Republicanism* and *Republicans*, have fallen under deep reproach. It results entirely from the atrocities of the French Revolution of 1790-93, the authors and actors of which, as is well known, were called *Republicans*. We are known to the world as a Republic, and the phrase, "a republican form of government," is used in the Constitution of the United States, as guaranteed by that instrument to every new State; but the denomination of *republicans* has never adhered long to any political party of the country. The cause is not apparent, unless it be supposed to result from the fact, that there is no obvious meaning in the term itself indicative of the precise character of our institutions. It is well understood, however, to denote a popular government, acting by representative agents.

#### § 10. The effect of accidental causes.

It has happened, undoubtedly, that the terms, Democracy and Democrats, have to some extent, and more especially in particular sections of this country, been for a time rather odious, on account of what has very justly been regarded as the hypocrisy of pretenders to democracy, in the same manner as some dislike the name of Christian, because they observe the character of religious hypocrites. Let us not be accused of making a profane comparison. It is the only fit one to describe the case. But, as Christianity can never be ultimately and permanently prejudiced by the hypocrisy of false pretenders, so neither can Democracy, and the latter holds a like place in the political world, as the former does in the moral. Democracy, in our regard, is as sure to outlive this transient odium, as Christianity is to triumph over her foes. For as God will vindicate the former, so will truth the latter. The world is the theatre for both, and the little accidents of evil which may come in the way of either, here or there, to asperse their character, or retard their progress for a season, will not impede their steady onward course, nor bar a final triumph. The action and history of human society for three thousand years, have decided, that Democracy is the *opposite* of Monarchy, and no accident, no fleeting shadow of a day, can disturb or modify this relation.

#### § 11. Our Government a Democracy.

We are aware, that some have denied this; but we think it is from want of an enlarged and philosophical view of the question. The grammatical and historical facts, already adduced, would certainly seem to decide, beyond controversy, in favor of our position. We think this question, if any choose to make controversy about it, is to be decided by the position which the term, Democracy, holds in the public mind of the world at large, and in the records of history, and not by the narrow views of our own political sectarians, nor by a nice scrutiny of the constitutional structure of our Government, as compared with an original and pure theoretical democracy, sitting and governing themselves in primary assemblies of the people. This latter picture is doubtless the purest theory of a democracy; but it is an impracticable mode of government. We choose rather to regard the more notable and fixed character, and to adopt the names, which history and immemorial usage have given to the different forms of

government, as they actually appear from time to time, in different countries; and these are generally classed under the heads of Monarchies and Republics, or Monarchies and Democracies, Republics and Democracies being used as synonymous and convertible terms. Each of these two classes, as before observed, has its varieties. But the representative forms of popular governments, however one may differ from another, if all the powers of government originate in the people and periodically return to them, or if those powers may be constitutionally resumed and modified by the people, cannot divest them of their democratic character. They are still Democracies in distinction from Monarchies. With the first of these classes, the government of these United States is properly, and for aught we can see, necessarily ranked. It is a *Democracy*. And ours is a very democratic government, in its practical operation, as compared with any that has ever existed permanently by its own inherent strength. Who does not know, how the slightest breezes of a political nature, moving over the popular mind, may affect and change the policy of the Government? Will any deny that this is *democracy*?

#### § 12. *Aristocracy.*

As it is not found convenient for monarchies to stand alone, and being socially at a lofty remove from the level of the people, it has been thought necessary to surround a throne with orders and ranks of nobility, having chartered privileges, large endowments of wealth, hereditary rights, patented honorary distinctions, &c., &c., each occupying a mediate stage between the sovereign and the people, till the chasm is filled up; and the interests of these numerous parties are so connected and identified with each other, and with the throne, that all are interested in maintaining the rights of the Monarchy against the claims of the Democracy. With the sanction of time and usage for their position, with their wealth, and with the physical force at their command, they support their power, and the supremacy of the sovereign. An aristocracy, in form or substance, is considered a necessary appendage of monarchy.

#### § 13. *An Oligarchy.*

An Oligarchy, or government of a few, associate and equal, is considered the most odious of all governments, and is doubtless capable of the most cruel despotism. Venice existed for centuries under this form of government, flourished as a commercial and warlike state, but was finally dissolved, and tumbled to ruins, by the atrocities of its Administration.

#### § 14. *Democracy as a party in the Republic.*

A democratic party in a democratic state, would seem to be an anomaly. The curiosity of a stranger would naturally demand, What, then, can the other party be?—Are they monarchists? or what? An exclusive claim of one of two parties to democracy, in a democratic country like this, is, to say the least, not a very modest pretension, and a scrutiny as to the propriety and grounds of such a claim, must of course be expected.

#### § 15. *A retrospective glance.*

It is a well-known fact, that, in the time of the elder Adams, a party, of high standing and great influence, existed in the republic, called Federalists, the leaders of which were accused—we do not decide whether justly or unjustly—of aristocratic aspirations and monarchical schemes. It is also known, that the passage of the Alien and Sedition laws, was the signal for the uprising and organization of a party, which assumed the name, and was called *democratic*, as being opposed to these imputed monarchical designs. With this color of propriety to start with, sounding their alarms, and urging their cause, they succeeded, under the lead of Thomas Jefferson, in 1801, in obtaining the government of the country, and the Federalists were thoroughly routed, so that they never appeared again, with any effect, as an organized party, were soon scattered, and after a few years, were merged in other parties, some going one way and some another. It is remarkable, however, that no small portion of the most prominent, most pretending, and apparently most influential leaders of the present self-styled “Democratic party,” came from the Federal ranks. It is a fact to be observed.

#### § 16. *A young Champion of this original Democracy.*

Henry Clay, of Kentucky, roused by his eloquence, marshalled by his skill, and led on by his valor, the democratic army of that Commonwealth, as their chosen captain. He was recognised and honored, as such, by Mr. Jefferson, throughout his Administration. He was neither the least, nor second, among the leaders of the Democracy under the administration of Mr. Madison. (See the “*Life of Henry Clay*,” Tract No. IV.) From the beginning of his political career, down to this hour, he has been a true, consistent, *American Democrat*, “original, dyed in the wool,” as we shall by and by have occasion to see.

#### § 17. *A Hint.*

Nothing is more obvious, than the truth, that, *since* the decline and dispersion of the Federal party, no other party in this country could, with propriety, modesty, or decency,

claim the exclusive title of *democratic*, even if it were proper *before*. It was first assumed for the occasion, and continued to be applied from habit; but even the Federalists, as is well known, denied the charges which were alleged against them; and if, indeed, there were traitors to the country then, not a few of the worst and most dangerous of them are now figuring largely and prominently in the self-styled "Democratic" ranks.

#### § 18. *A Likeness.*

The history of political parties in this country has been very much like the movements of flocks of wild pigeons and shoals of fishes. A cloud of these birds comes sweeping through the air, in a dense mass and long train, apparently following one leader, and anon, they divide into two, or three, or four armies, separating and circling away to different quarters of the heavens, under as many captains. They may form a junction again, in whole, or in part, or they may not. The chances are, they will never *all* get together in the same order. The same is it with shoals of fishes. Now a solid body moves steadily on, when all at once, they branch off, and dart away, no one knows where. It is supposed they have gone off under new leaders.

#### § 19. *The state of parties under Mr. Monroe's Administration.*

There has been one period of comparative repose in our political history, when all parties were apparently blended in a common mass. It was under Mr. Monroe.

#### § 20. *The new "Democracy" no Democracy.*

After a calm, comes a storm. The evoking of new political parties, of such character and force, out of such a state of things as existed under Mr. Monroe, can be accounted for only by special influences. The causes will be found in our Tract No. IV., pages 9 and 10. A violence was done to the repose of the public mind, and that violence was supported by a long protracted fraud. Principles were laid aside, and a MAN set up. The influence was PERSONAL, not political.

In this there could be no Democracy, but the very opposite. When Napoleon rose, it was all for *liberty*, for the *people*, for *France*. It is always so, when MEN rise, in the place of PRINCIPLES. They call things by names directly opposite to the FACTS; and it becomes necessary to insist upon it, with an emphasis and an energy, proportionate to the falseness of the pretensions, and the danger of detection. Popular deception can not be carried on and carried through, without heaps upon heaps of false asseveration. Democracy and a democratic party *had* been popular in the country. What more prudent, or more politic, than to call this new development by the same name? They had all power, could do as they pleased, and would be believed. They called it *Democracy*! An implicit giving up of the control and management of everything to ONE MAN, *democracy*! Such is not the decision of grammar, nor the utterance of history, nor is it very nearly allied to common apprehension.

What resemblance, or what connexion there was between the self-styled "Democracy," which ruled in the land from 1830 to 1840, and that which rose in 1801, and long presided over the destinies of the country, we are utterly unable to see. Jeffersonian democracy, for aught that appears, was the power of the PEOPLE. Jackson "Democracy" was the ascendant star of ONE MAN. The first grew out of an alarm for the safety of popular rights; the last sprung from an obsequious regard for a Military Chieftain.

#### § 21. *The Democracy of Mr. Clay.*

The position of Mr. Clay in the democratic party which triumphed in 1801, and long swayed the sceptre of this republic, has already been recognised. He was first, most eloquent, and most influential in the ranks of the Kentucky democracy of that era; he had the entire confidence of Mr. Jefferson; he was the main pillar of Mr. Madison's administration, and to no man is the country more indebted than to him for the success of our arms in the last war with Great Britain, and for an honorable and advantageous peace. A true American democrat from the beginning, rising from the humblest origin, poor and friendless, and depending alone on his personal industry and energy, he was ready, and full armed, for the service of his country—such service as we have endeavored briefly to set forth in Tract No. IV.

#### § 22. *Defining a position.*

While the Subtreasury Bill was under debate in the Senate, Mr. Calhoun cast some reflection on Mr. Clay, as having on his side members of the Federal party. "Sir," said Mr. Clay, addressing the President of that body, "I am ready to go into an examination with the honorable Senator at any time, and then we shall see if there be not more members of that same old Federal party among those whom the Senator has recently joined, than on our side of the house. The plain truth is, that it is the old Federal party with whom he is now acting. For, all the former grounds of difference which distinguished that party, and were the subjects of contention between them and the republicans, have ceased, from lapse of time and change of circumstances, with the exception of ONE, and that is the maintenance and increase

of executive power. This was a leading policy of the Federal party. *A strong, powerful, and energetic Executive, was its favorite tenet.* \* \* "I can tell the gentleman, that he will find the *true old Democratic party*, who were for resisting the encroachments of power, and limiting executive patronage, *on our side of the Senate*, and not with his new allies, the *Jackson-Van-Buren democratic party*, whose leading principle is to *sustain the Executive*, and deny all power to the legislature, and which does not hold a *solitary principle* in common with the republican party of 1798."

This accidental skirmish affords a true definition of the position of the two great parties at that time and now existing in the country, and which were formed by the accession of General Jackson to power. "The plain truth is," said Mr. Clay, "that it is the *old Federal party*, with whom he (Mr. Calhoun) is *now acting.*" \* \* "I can tell the gentleman, that he will find the *true old Democratic party on our side of the Senate.*" No man had a better right to understand this matter, than he who was born and raised in a democratic family, who was educated in a democratic school, who had worked all his life in the democratic harness, who had never once kicked in the traces, nor balked, and of whom, in regard to the true democracy of the country, it might be said, he was chief among the chief, and always foremost. Mr. Clay had never deserted his old family connexions, and passed from one side to the other; but he stood proudly on his patrimonial estate. He was never heard to say, like one of his rival opponents for the Presidency, lately withdrawn, "I thank Heaven, that I have not a drop of democratic blood in my veins." A democrat originally, and a democrat always, unchanged and unchangeable, he knew how to maintain the principles of democracy, and vindicate its honor. When he said, "I can tell the gentleman," &c., he said what every one knew to be a truth, and that truth was a hard one for his opponents.

### § 23. Mr. Clay's Democracy as a Senator of the United States.

The position we have given to Democracy in the grammar of language, in all history, in political philosophy, and in the universal sense of mankind, as a *people-government* in opposition to *One-Man Power*, we desire to be constantly borne in mind. It is only by this distinct perception, by this discrimination, that we can properly and fully appreciate the thing, when it comes up before us, in its various practical forms.

In this light, observe the career of Mr. Clay as a Senator of the United States, always jealous of all encroachments of Executive power on the legislative branch of the Government, and of all its abuses and usurpations in other applications. The national legislature is the representative power of the people, of the democracy acting through its own agents and organs. It is the people, standing up by proxy in that place, to enact laws for themselves. Invade the rights of that body—it can be done from no quarter but the Executive—and you invade the rights of democracy; destroy them—no power but the Executive can do it—and you destroy democracy. Congress is the *home* of American democracy, its theatre, its sacred ground. It is more:—IT IS ITS THRONE. The Executive is but the *servant* of democracy, to do its will. The bidding, the mandate goes out from the *Capitol*, not from the White House. It is the duty of the latter to *obey*, when the former has published its *orders*—to do the *whole* thing prescribed, and nothing *more*. *Excess* is as bad as short coming.

Of these prerogatives of American Democracy, in the Congress of the United States, where can be found so constant, so vigilant, so faithful a sentinel—so bold an advocate, or a defender so uncompromising, as Henry Clay has been?

It can not be said, that the rights of American Democracy have never been menaced, never assailed there. More than once, or twice, or thrice, have they been *violated* on that ground. But it was not without resistance—not without a warning voice, and a prophetic utterance. A minority sentinel can interpose no effectual democratic veto there. He can say, *Nay*; but it is on the weaker side, and doomed to be overpowered. When a despotic and lawless Executive has obtained for himself an obsequious majority in that body, he snaps asunder the cords of the Constitution, and tramples on the rights of democracy.

It was from a long protracted and painful experience of this kind, that Mr. Clay, on bidding adieu to the Senate of the United States, in 1842, never more to appear in that place, where he had served the people so long and so faithfully, left on the journal of that body, as his last will and testament in capacity of a Senator, a proposal for an amendment of the Constitution in three particulars, designed to restrict and limit Executive power, so as to prevent such violations of the rights of democracy. (See Tract, No. IV., page 14.)

### § 24. Mr. Clay's Democracy in private life.

We do not mean as to his manners, which in him require neither eulogy, nor defence; but those things which he can not but speak and do for the country, wherever he is. In all the emanations from his mind and heart, through private organs, which have found their way to the public, we find the same stamp of patriotism, the same regard for the rights of democracy, the same concern on account and in remembrance of abuses of Executive power, the

same desire to see these evils of the country rectified, which have illustrated his public life, from beginning to end, with indelible characters.

§ 25. *The pledge of Mr. Clay's democracy to the end.*

A public man's estate is his reputation—his fame. Is it morally possible, that a man, who has done so much for democracy, who has toiled nearly half a century for its extension and security, and in defence of its rights, should turn round, undo what he has done, blast the work of his own hands, tarnish his fame, or wantonly leave in the minds of men a *doubt* of his fidelity? If men can trust anywhere on instruments of Providence, duly appreciating the frailty of such supports, they will know how to trust in such a case.

§ 26. *Modern Democracy a new thing.*

We speak of that which is modern in our own history, as compared with its earlier dates. There is scarcely a feature of resemblance between the democracy, which preceded the amalgamation of parties under Mr. Monroe, and the self-styled "Democracy" that has sprung up since, and for twelve years held the reins of power. *This is entirely a new thing.* It is as remote from grammatical, historical, and philosophical democracy, and from *any* democracy ever recognised as such, as Monarchy itself. It involves the two principles of Monarchy and Oligarchy, with a strong smell of Aristocracy; but we have never found in it a single element of a *Constitutional* democracy. The people have had a part in it, without doubt; but it was only to do as they were told. They were mustered and organized under the *personal* popularity of *One Man*, and the original, afterward transmitted vitality of the party, consisted in *obsequiousness* to one man's will. Does any man need to be told, that General Jackson's will was the law of his party; or that the party was a body of which he was the *soul*? It was a party formed around him *personally* as a nucleus, centre, and source of influence. Is it not apparent, at a single glance, and from moral necessity, that such a party could not be *democratic*? The head was *monarch* of the party, *sole and absolute*. And as all monarchs require privileged and rewarded agents, he put his finger upon, appointed, and endowed such as would answer his purposes, and captains of tens, of fifties, of hundreds, and of thousands, were made all over the land. It was a strictly *disciplined* party, under *one Chief*, who was also at the head of the nation. It had a *military* character in its organization, discipline, and effect.

Men do not usually give such confidence, without a consideration. In the first place, they were gifted with a flattering name—*Democrats*. This was understood to denote *equality of rights*. In the next place, they were told and believed, that their Chief would do for them some very nice things, in the way of making *equality realized*. In the third place, there was held out the bait of a sort of undefined license, a kind of political Millenium, not far ahead, of which some din of preparation was heard as an earnest of fulfilment. In this way was organized an *obsequious* party, every fragment of which was under the discipline and guidance of recognised leaders, all of whom, in grades, were connected with their Chief. This, we suppose, will be allowed to be a fair picture. And is this *Democracy*—a *people-government*!

§ 27. *The Oligarchic and Aristocratic features of this party.*

The *Monarch* is recognised. A government, under the will of *One*, is doubtless a *Monarchy*, whatever may be its Constitutional name. It was impossible to carry out such a party system, without *sub-chiefs*, and licensed authorities, in all its parts. The position of these agents lends them personal importance, and a sense of the obscurity of their origin and suddenness of their elevation, mounts into aristocratic pride of the worst kind. It is *Aristocracy* without grace, and without decency—loving power, but not knowing how to use it. Hence it has been remarked, that no party ever developed so distinctly the features of *Aristocracy*, or was ruled so entirely by *Oligarchs*. This fact has struck the party itself so forcibly, that some of them have waggishly dubbed it "*the Cod-fish Aristocracy of Democracy.*"

§ 28. *An Anecdote.*

"How many legs will a calf have," asked a fellow of another, whose depth and shrewdness he wanted to prove, "if you call his *tail* a leg?" "Five," was the answer. "O no, that's impossible." "But certainly, he will have five." "Does your *calling* his tail a leg, *make* it a leg?" "Well, now, I never thought of that."

It is strange, indeed, that it should have taken the people of this country so long to find out, that a calf's tail could never be made into a calf's leg, by the act of *calling* it a leg; or that *One-Man Power* could not be converted into democracy, by *calling* it democracy. We have already partly suggested the reason why this misnomer was given, and the manner in which it was done. Democracy had been in good repute. And why should it not be, in a democratic country? But, as this *new* "Democracy" was known to be spurious, it was necessary to insist on its genuine character with special urgency—to affirm it over and over again. A falsehood is allowed to be made good, by telling it often and strong, and swearing to it, if necessary.

## § 29. Discoveries.

That certainly was a very strong stamp, which the Chief of this self-styled "Democratic" party gave to it, and the impulse of his hand kept the machinery a-going long time after he bequeathed the charge of it to his Successor. But it was not long before it began to be discovered, that there was not much democracy in this particular kind of democracy. It was true, that the captains of tens, fifties, hundreds, thousands, and so on, were generally rewarded; but the lower subalterns, who fought well, and worked hard, got nothing. As the principle proclaimed was, "to the victors belong the spoils," this partiality seemed very unreasonable. These dissatisfied members of the family could not with safety jump over the fence, because their faces would be recognised; they were therefore forced, for a long time, to work on, and fight on, in sulky mood. But in 1840, many of them broke loose, and quit, as the bondage had become intolerable. Captain Tyler's treachery gave hope to others, and he got a good many of the disaffected. Poor Mike Walsh, captain of the "Subterraneans," in the city of New York, after having done valiant and distinguished service for his masters, without reward, first tried Captain Tyler, till he saw his foundation giving way, and then rebelled openly, and was thrust into prison by his own party! Ungrateful "Democracy"!

But the most remarkable case of all the penitents, is that of Mr. Brownson, formerly Editor of the Boston Quarterly, since associate Editor of the Democratic Review, and now, in 1844, setting up again for himself in "Brownson's Quarterly," published in Boston, in the first number of which he gives Mr. Van Buren and the party a most terrible scathing. It appears by his statements, that he has long been dissatisfied (doubtless many others have), and that he is now his own man again, having swung clear of his old associates. Mr. Brownson is an original, vigorous thinker, an able writer, and utters some striking truths; but one hardly knows where he will land, if it be possible to tell where he is now. According to his own definition, he is a man of "progress."

One who has been admitted to the altars of this new "Democracy," and officiated there, ought to know something about it. The following are a few extracts on this subject, from his Review for January, 1844: "What passes for their voice (the voice of the 'Democracy') is only the voice of the corrupt and intriguing few, who contrive to manage them, and to cheat and wheedle them out of their votes." . . . "This talk about the voice of the people is all moonshine." . . . "The confidence which these politicians ('Democrats') have in the people, is in the facility with which they may be gulled." . . . "Would they willingly let the people into their secret caucuses, into their councils to contrive ways and means of plundering the simple and unsuspecting? Would the pure patriots, the democratic sages of *Lindenvold* and elsewhere, let the people know their various speculations and contrivances by which they cheat and swindle the laboring classes out of their hard earnings, to enrich themselves and their associates? No; there is nothing that these men more distrust than they do the people." . . . "The real enemies of freedom are your democratic politicians, who with their lips praise the people, and with their hands pick their pockets."

As for Mr. Van Buren, though Mr. Brownson voted for him in 1840, very reluctantly, he seems to think he was a sort of *nightmare* on the party at that time. In speaking of the re-appearance of Mr. Van Buren, as a candidate for the Presidency, he says: "He comes not alone, but as the chief of a band, which the country had devoutly hoped was dispersed, never to be collected again. He comes as the representative of the same old corrupt and corrupting system of party tactics, followed by the same swarm of greedy spoilsmen, with their appetite for plunder sharpened by the few years' abstinence they have been forced, through the remains of the original virtue and patriotism of the country, to practise. Gratify his wishes, restore him to the place he is personally soliciting, and we lose all that was good in the defeat of the Republican ('Democratic') party in 1840, and retain only the evil. We restore what, with an almost unheard-of effort, the country had thrown off, and place the Republican party in the condition in which it must be defeated again, or the country be inevitably ruined." . . . "Mr. Van Buren has, in politics, no standard of right and wrong but the will of his party, on the surface of which he floats, ready to take any direction the selfish views of its managers may give him. He is always pliable, manageable, with no obstinate views of his own, in his or anybody's way."

Well, this is a pretty stout confession for one who still belongs to the party, and only prefers Mr. Calhoun. It will be observed, that Mr. Brownson above substitutes *Republican* for *Democratic*. He has got tired of "Democracy" (not much wonder), and prefers a "*Constitutional Republic*." He calls himself a "Conservative," though he likes "progress"—progress on the past, not in upsetting the past—and we honor him for it.

## § 30. The Radicalism and Revolutionary tendencies of this modern "Democracy."

When the Dorr insurrection broke out in Rhode Island, Mr. Brownson bravely attacked the principle of that rebellion in the Democratic Review, with which he was then connected, and really did good service to the country, though he had the misfortune to offend his readers, the

patrons of that magazine. He showed very clearly, that all changes in the fundamental law of a State, must be made according to the *provisions* of that law. Else, it is a *revolution*. This doctrine was a manifest condemnation of the Dorr party and movement.

It has all along been but too apparent, that this new "Democracy" was not overcharged with respect, either for Constitutional or Statute law, or any law whatever, that might happen to come in its way. But the outbreak in Rhode Island *unmasked* the party, in regard to the reliance to be reposed in them on such occasions, and evinced how much more they are swayed by passion (some, it is to be feared, by hope of plunder), than by law. It will not soon be forgotten who favored, and who rebuked that disturbance. The peace and welfare of our country, and the stability of our Government and its institutions, demand, that we should know who will sustain them, or who will consent to overturn them in an unpropitious hour.

#### § 31. *The design and importance of party names.*

We have already suggested, what we think can not be too well considered, that no party in this country is fairly entitled to the exclusive name of *democratic*. The government of the United States comes under the category of *Democracies*, in the general classification of the political forms of human society, and all the people of all parties are, or ought to be, *democrats*. They are not *monarchists*. Technically and specifically we are a Republic and Republicans; but for the general and more common purposes of language, both in political philosophy, and in the common speech of the world, we are a *Democracy* and *Democrats*. These are national designations, not party titles. The assumption of these titles by a political party, is a robbery of the other party of their national character. It is investing a sect—in such a case *self-invested*—for their exclusive use, with the honors which belong to the entire Democratic communion, in this country and elsewhere.

#### § 32. *Whigs and Locofocos.*

Positively we know no such parties in this country as *Whigs* and *Democrats*. We deny that there are such. There are Whigs, and we maintain that the Whigs are the Democrats, if there must be a party of that name. Certainly, they are the *true* Democrats, if there be any such in the land. We mean no disrespect to the *Locofocos* by this party designation. They came by it accidentally, as the name of Whig was first acquired. Under these names, or any others not national and generically comprehensive, the issue is fairly made, and always stands, as is proper and important, which of the two is *more truly*, or *more Democratic* than the other, according to the democratic standard of our Government and its institutions? Neither party, so far as we know, proposes any other standard. But if either of these divisions of the people is permitted to wear the name of *democrats*, as an exclusive party designation, and if they are fairly entitled to it, the question is conceded, and the argument at an end, as to which is democratic, or more truly so.

#### § 33. *The cheat and stealth involved in this misnomer.*

The name of *democrats* was stolen by those who now claim to wear it exclusively. They had no title to it. It is an *American*, not a party name. In such an appropriation it is a *cheat*. The advocates of One-Man Power in the veto, as it has been used (abused) by our National Executive, are *Monarchists*, not Republicans. Much less are they Democrats. They have also been the advocates of other abuses and usurpations of Executive power. They were the first party in the country, since the formation of our Government, that set up and upheld *One-Man Power*, and the most remarkable fact is, that they did this at the very moment when they stole and put on the name of "*Democrats*"! They have justified and sustained the President of the United States in the use of monarchical powers, we might say *absolute* powers, which would have cost the Sovereign of Great Britain a throne and a crown, and which would have revolutionized almost any kingdom in Europe—all under the name of "Democracy"!

At the same time, and all along, the Whigs have resisted these encroachments of One-Man Power, and been the advocates of popular rights—of *true* Democracy. Such is their position before the country at this moment. It is for the rights of the PEOPLE that they maintain a perpetual strife. It is for this that Mr. Clay has contended uninterruptedly, untiringly. The rights of American Democracy, if sacrificed anywhere, will be sacrificed in the Capitol of the Republic, in the Congress of the United States, in the persons of the Representatives of the people. Repeatedly have blows against democracy been struck there—repeatedly have the rights of the people been trampled on in that place by the iron heel of Executive power, with the consent and by the aid of these self-styled "*Democrats*"! It is to shield and protect that citadel of Democratic power and of popular freedom, from these invasions and irruptions, that Mr. Clay, and those associated with him, have so long strived, and still strive.

#### § 34. *The object of the political revolution of 1840.*

It was solely and alone to restore the democracy of the country—to *restore* it. For many years it had been giving way and was being swallowed up by Executive power. One ca-



encroachment after another had been made on the rights of the popular and legislative branch of the Government, abuses multiplied, usurpations thickened, till the powers of legislation, directly or indirectly, by influence or mandate, chiefly emanated from the Executive chair. Congress, instead of originating public policy and public measures, and giving form and substance to them, by its own independent action, became a *mère* registrar of Executive decrees, a mechanics' work-house for a master at the other end of the Avenue. The Democracy of the nation was prostrate—it was nearly annihilated. It was to *restore* the Democratic prerogatives of Congress, to reassert and reconfirm the independence of the national legislature, that the great struggle of 1840 was undertaken, and the aim triumphantly achieved. The people *saw* that their power was gone, and must be recovered, and they came to the rescue.

### § 35. The genius of Locofoco "Democracy."

The way in which it originated, and its history since, will show what it is. It began by the *personal* influence of *one man*. It had, therefore, an emanation from and concentration in *one point*. It whirled around *one centre*. There was no independence in the body, but a universal *obsequiousness* to the soul. Mr. Brownson, who has been a member and oracle in this party, and who is still a member, says, in describing this character: "One sees the *original* everywhere. The evil has become great and menacing. We have lost our *manliness*; we have sacrificed our *independence*; we have become *tame and servile*, afraid to say that our souls are our own." . . . "To keep the ranks of the party full, to prevent members from breaking away, and asserting their independence, appeals are made to the lowest and most corrupting passions of the human heart. The individual who shows himself a little uneasy, or disposed to kick at the party traces" (like Mike Walsh, or like Mr. Brownson himself), "must be denounced, thrown over, and declared to be an enemy, and no longer entitled to the confidence of the party. Thus men must be kept in the party, and faithful to its usages, decisions, and nominations, *not by attachment to its principles and measures, but through fear*, that, if they assert their independence, they will lose their share of the spoils."

This is a true picture of the party from its origin, by one, than whom nobody understands it better. There *never* was any democracy in it. From its character, its vital and all-pervading principle, *obsequiousness and obedience*, it was impossible there should be. It came from *man*, *born to command*, and he infused his spirit into the whole machinery. The *genius* of Locofoco "Democracy," therefore, is *obsequiousness and servility* in the masses, and *despotism* in the leaders. It is utterly *hostile* to true democracy, and a suitable foundation, on which to erect a *despotic throne*.

### § 36. The genius of Whig Democracy.

The Whig party of the Union is composed of men, who have been long out of power; who have been forced in the meantime to act on the conservative side, that is, as far as possible, to prevent mischief; who are of course, and necessarily, *lean men*, as regards the fattening effects of office; have none of the corruptions which are at least *supposed* to appertain to a protracted tenure of power; and if such men can anywhere be found, may fairly be regarded, as in a reasonable degree, disinterested patriots, from the fact of their choice to remain in the minority so long a period. *Principles* alone, not power, have bound them together. Their party organization has been sustained, not by the patronage of office, but by putting their hands in their own pockets. It was a glorious sight, in 1840, to see what sacrifices and efforts they could make, to rescue the country from bad hands. The obvious truth of their facts, and the force of their arguments, brought a great majority of the people over to their side, and they triumphed; but treachery has left them precisely in the situation they were in then. Still without power, still relying on *principles*, and the practical *results* of principles, "though betrayed, not dismayed," they still adhere, and press onward.

Every man in the Whig ranks, is a MAN—a man that thinks for himself, and acts for himself—an uncompromising *American Democrat*. It is perhaps an evil in the Whig party, that they are *all* leaders; but it is *not* an evil, that they are *seaville* to leaders. Nobody has ever dared to name in their ranks that wicked, corrupt, and corrupting maxim, that "to the victors belong the spoils." The great mass of them would never care who governs the country, if it were well governed. But when it is badly governed, they resolve, in the spirit of true patriots, to put the reins in better hands, that they may return to and prosper in their own private affairs, as independent American citizens—as *Democrats*.

Such, for the most part, is the genius of Whig Democracy. They recognise no authority of leaders, that binds them to obsequiousness; it is not party, but the *country* they go for; it is not MEN, but PRINCIPLES; and they adopt party organization, and sustain it, not as an end, but as *means* to an end.

### § 37. Democracy will prevail.

And it will prevail under that name. It is too late in the age of the world, in history, and in the progress of human society, to give another name to this thing. That is the common

symbol destined to be employed, throughout the world, to denote popular forms of government. It is stereotyped in the public mind of all nations, and everybody, everywhere, understands it.

It is true this name has been somewhat confounded in the practices of the political sects of our own country, and we are perhaps a little disqualified to judge of its general and permanent influence. A portion of our citizens also have prejudices in relation to it, which it is hard to get over. In the first place, those who were opposed to the first party in this country which assumed and wore this name, (it was a party of no affinity whatever with the present self-called "Democrats,") have not even yet forgotten their feelings of dislike to it, although they may be at this moment, and to a great extent are amalgamated with that party. But the distaste which they have for this name as having been put on by the *Locofocos*, is fresh and strong. They despise the hypocrisy which they have found lurking under this garb, and can hardly help associating the *thing* with the name. Not unlikely they may often have been heard to pronounce the name of "*Dem-o-crat*" with unmitigated contempt and emphatic scorn, simply because they think of the *character* that claims the exclusive use of it.

We entreat all such to look at this subject with more enlarged and more philosophic views. We are, personally, fully convinced, that we do not mistake in the political importance we attach to this word. We have shown it is a *pure* word, apart from our own political atmosphere, where, we confess, it has been somewhat contaminated. But even here, it is to a great extent purified already, and is becoming more so every day. It was assumed by a large portion of the Whig party in 1840, under the style of *Democratic Whigs*, because they knew it belonged to them, and to them alone. This feeling and determination have been gaining strength ever since, and before the campaign of 1844 is closed, we doubt not it will generally be felt and acknowledged by the *people*, that the Whigs are the *only true* Democrats. It is vain to rely on common power of discrimination between *principles* and *names*. Every practical man ought to know, that names embody principles, and are the symbols of principles to the mind. The word, *Democracy*, is a *universal* symbol, of *uniform* import, and no power can arrest or limit its influence. It will prevail over everything, and carry all before it.

#### § 38. *The duty of the press, and of common speech.*

It is perhaps true, that *half* of the Whig press, and *half* the Whigs in the land, are at this time in the habit of calling the *Locofocos* *Democrats*, of speaking of them as the *Democracy*, of honoring their party with the title of *Democratic*, and of using the word in all its forms in this application. Are they aware of the consequence, and that they are probably doing more to help the *Locofocos* by this recognition of their claims, than all the counter influence they can throw into the other scale, by any means whatever? We are sure, if they thought as we do, believed as we do, they would from principle, from a sense of duty, abstain at once and for ever from such an application of these terms. It is unjust to all parties—to the *Locofocos* themselves; for they, of all men, are least entitled to it. It is a *cheat* they have palmed on the community, by which they acquired and retained their power for twelve years, and by which, sooner or later, if permitted to continue the fraud, they will rise again, and rule in spite of opposition. In 1840 they were beaten, because, through the democratic symbols of "Log Cabin and Hard Cider," in connexion with the *facts* brought home to the people, the people saw on which side the true democracy was. And we shall doubtless triumph in this campaign of 1844, because the democracy of Henry Clay is unquestioned and unassailable. But still, as revealed by the story in the first section of this Tract, Mr. Van Buren and his party "*rely*" on the word "*Democracy*," and on stigmatizing their opponents as "*Federalists*." They understand the potency of these words. Believe it, dear friends, they have done more, and will do more, *by this fraud*, than by all other means whatever. Strip them of that name, and we put the question—Who believes that they could live a day? Without that name, they never would have succeeded. How, then, can a true Whig be so *suicidal* as to award it to them, in the press, or in common speech? They have a name, *Locofoco*, accidentally acquired, as the name of Whig was originally, and there is no discourtesy in using that designation. They then stand upon their naked principles and practices, and the issue is fairly made before the people, Which are the true and best Democrats?

#### § 39. *The importance of this question in its relation to immigrants.*

It appears by official records, that the number of immigrants who arrived at the port of New York, from August, 1832, to August, 1842, ten years, was 507,131. We have not the means of knowing what proportion this bears to the *entire* immigration of foreigners into the country; but we have noticed immigrations, by way of Canada, for some years, which, at the same rate, would make an aggregate in ten years, but little short of this statement for New York. But suppose the average immigration into the country is *fifty thousand* a year, which was the average for ten years, at New York alone, as above; and suppose that one half of these become voters by naturalization; we then have an aggregate acquisition of voters, from foreign parts, every four years, not much short of the majority which elected General Harrison! We have before shown, that all these, or nearly all, come here for

*Democracy* as opposed to *Monarchy*, and that they will be *Democrats*. Most of them are ignorant of our language, all are ignorant of our state of society, they know nothing of the principles which distinguish political parties here, but they are governed chiefly by the *names* which parties bear. The party that is *called* democratic, if there be such a party, they are sure to join. What other rule can they go by? And such, we generally find, is the result. Is not this fact *alone* sufficient for all the purposes of our argument?

§ 40. *The effect of this name on native Americans.*

It is impossible to tell how great it is, but it can not be small. We know, that the head and leaders of the Locofoco party "*rely*" upon it, and our conviction is, that they rely upon it *chiefly*. We do not believe they would make another effort, if this name, by any means, could be taken away. They are shrewd men, and understand this matter well. Observe how they manage in their press and speech: We are the "*Democrats*;" they (the Whigs) are "*Federalists*;" and for twelve years, they made the people believe it, *notwithstanding* that, all this while, they were acting on the very principle, which made the old Federal party obnoxious, to wit, a *strong and overpowering Executive*, while Mr. Clay and the Whigs, with all their might, were opposing it, and laboring for democracy. The moral influence of this name, in favor of the Locofocos, so long as it is *awarded* to them, must be immense, and we do not think it would be overstating it, if we were to put it down at *fifty per cent.*, *half* of their entire strength.

Is there not good reason, then, why Mr. Van Buren should "*rely*" on this name? Mr. Brownson asks: "Who ever caught the weasel asleep?" If they are entitled to the name, let them have it. But we have shown it is a *fraud*.

§ 41. "*Democrats*" the friends of the laboring and poorer classes.

This has not only been a standing text, but there has been much effective preaching from it, by the Locofoco "*Democracy*." But the laboring and poorer classes have made an important discovery in three particulars. 1. That they have been made *tools of*, as described in our quotations from Mr. Brownson, who, from his long standing and public labors in the Locofoco party, will no doubt be accepted as a very credible witness. 2. That Whig policy and Whig measures are best for them. 3. They like that democracy which does them most good; which gives them food, clothing, and a comfortable home, instead of *promises*. They have at least *begun* to make this discovery, and are advancing in it rapidly. The tariff, a great Whig measure, is diffusing its blessings everywhere, and gladdening the hearts of the laboring and poorer classes. We have just noticed the remarkable fact, that a little girl, in a Cotton Bag Factory at Cincinnati, earns *six dollars* for five and a half days' labor every week, and that there are fifty-five females and forty-five males working in the same factory, with similar results. (See also our tract on the Tariff.)

Take away the *name*, by which the Locofocos have deceived the people, and their power is gone.

§ 42. *The great Indexes of Democracy.*

That party which seeks to maintain and defend the prerogatives of the popular branch of the Government against the encroachments and usurpations of the Executive, and to guard the Constitutional rights of the people in the persons of their immediate representatives, is the *democratic party*. All know, that this has been the position of Mr. Clay, and of the Whigs, and that their opponents have been constantly seeking to strengthen the Executive in its invasions of the rights of Congress. The former have constantly and steadily braced up against the Executive, in their defence of the democratic powers of the Government; while the latter have as constantly and as steadily prompted and aided the Executive in all its attempts to curtail and abridge those powers. To secure the exercise of the powers of Government by the people, in all that the Constitution prescribes and warrants, has been the undeviating aim of Mr. Clay, in all his public life and labors; and in doing this, for many years past, he has been found in uninterrupted conflict with the Executive and the Locofocos. These facts are *signs*, indexes, and infallible proofs of *democracy* in those who thus take the side of the people; and no less are they conclusive evidence of the *lack* of democracy in those who take the side of the Executive *against* the people.

§ 43. *The Veto Power.*

This is but one of the many forms, in which the Chief Executive of this country has invaded the prerogatives of democracy, in violation of the design of the Constitution. It is a pure *monarchical* power, and is liable to be very momentous in its results. It has actually been so in our case. The framers of the Constitution thought the occasions for its proper exercise would be very rare, and it was even supposed at the time, that it would scarcely be used at all, on account of the great responsibility. It has not been used by the Sovereign of Great Britain for more than a century, and probably never will be used there again. But with us it has been used as wantonly as if there were no democracy in the Constitution, or in the country, or ever could be, to call this absolute power to account; and what is most remarkable is, that the

*Locofoco* "Democracy" should be its chief advocate and defender! Its most daring use commenced under the *Locofoco* Dynasty, and it has been cherished by that party ever since. But nothing could be more inconsistent with the spirit, or more hostile to the rights of democracy. An examination into the history of the formation of the Constitution will show, that the chief design of the Veto power was to protect the Executive from the encroachments of the Legislative branch of the Government; whereas, it has been chiefly employed, in the later periods of our history, in an aggressive movement from the Executive, on the rights of Legislative authority, to nullify its functions; in other words, to nullify the democratic powers of the Constitution.

It has been stated by English authorities, that the only practical benefit of the Veto Power in the British Crown, is the *knowledge*, that it *can* be used in defence of the prerogatives of the throne. This, probably, will be thought quite as far as it ought to go; and such, as above recognised, appears to have been the main design of this power in *our* Constitution, to wit, *to protect the Executive*. But, as there has been no occasion for that in our history, and some of our Presidents having taken it for granted, that this power was not given to lie idle, have used it freely and wantonly in encroachments on democratic prerogatives. Mr. Tyler gave notice, in his first message to Congress, that there *was* such a power in the Constitution! Therefore, my dear democratic friends, guardians of the people's rights, take care what you do! We marked it at the time as an ominous foreboding, and so it turned out. He had at that moment, and even earlier than that, as we may hereafter have occasion to show, made up his mind to use it.

#### § 44. *The confusion of political parties.*

As was sagaciously and shrewdly calculated upon by those most interested, a majority of the people of this country, honest and unsophisticated, took for granted, that the leaders of a party, coming into the field, would not call themselves *democrats*, if they were not so; and it was generally supposed, that this new party was only a continuation of the old democratic party, and that it occupied the same position; whereas, it was the *reverse*, or *opposite* position. What Mr. Clay said, in reply to Mr. Calhoun, that "it does not hold a *solitary principle in common* with the Republican (democratic) party of 1798," was perfectly true. It was in the antipodes, at the opposite pole, in relation to that party. It was moreover true, that this new party had adopted—it is equally true, that it has uniformly carried out—the most obnoxious principle of the old Federal party, viz.: "A strong, powerful, and energetic Executive," and that with this party still resides *all* the Federalism there is in the land, which in their case is a *reality*, whatever may have been the *fact* in the first case.

It was also supposed by the people, that the party, since called Whig, was *anti-democratic*, and that they succeeded to the Federalists, and inherited their principles; whereas, they were the only legitimate successors of the Jeffersonian, afterward Madisonian school, and were opposed to this new self-styled "democracy," because they were opposed to *Federalism*, and the worst kind of Federalism, as it was developed under the *Locofoco* Dynasty.

Such has been the entire and absolute *confusion* of political parties in this country, growing out of the *fraud* practised in the assumption of the name of "*Democrats*" by the *Locofocos*, who were able, by the irresistible sway of a popular Chieftain, to maintain it for a protracted period. On this account, the two great parties have all this while been in *false* positions before the people, and it was not till 1840, that this fact began to be understood; nor is it perfectly understood even now.

#### § 45. *The unscrupulousness of Locofocoism.*

The fraud of calling itself, and claiming the title of *democratic*, was bad enough. They who fixed upon this name for themselves and the party, knew perfectly well, that it was a false flag, and they *intended* to deceive by it. But this was *innocent* compared with the second part of their offence, in calling their opponents *Federalists*—a name which, in truth, belonged to themselves. The *unscrupulousness* with which it was first done, with which it has been maintained, and is practised *to this day*, is a most remarkable fact. The *manner* of doing it, all along, betrays a consciousness of the fraud. Else, why crowd every column of their newspapers, fill every speech and all their common talk, with these names and epithets, thus applied? That is not the way of honest people. When a case is evident, and when a question is settled, it is quite unnecessary to be always affirming it. But they "*rely*" upon the cheat, knowing it to be such. They know that they are always exposed to detection, and must therefore anticipate all by the *repetition* of false asseveration. The people generally are honest, and can only be held in their state of deception, by a constant echo of that which first led them into error, and gained their misgiven confidence.

The *Locofoco* press and leaders are also equally unscrupulous in their statements of *fact*, to maintain their cause. We are aware, it may be replied, that this is always the way with politicians, and that it is equally true of both sides. But there is an answer to this, which few people have thought of. It is this:—The facts which the Whigs have to state of the *Loco-*

focus, are so perfectly astounding, that they have no occasion, and no temptation, to go beyond the truth, but are forced, in prudence, to stop short of it, or very seldom to give the whole, lest they should be *disbelieved*. This we know to be true from our own experience; and we have never known a statement insisted upon by the Whig press, or often repeated, after it was proved incorrect. This is strong proof of the purity of a political party, and we think it is true. The Whigs have no need of weapons against their opponents, which *facts* do not furnish; whereas they are constantly assailed by naked assertions *destitute of truth*.

#### § 46. The morals of Locofocoism.

It results from a moral necessity, growing out of the history of the thing, that it should be corrupt. Founded in untruth, erected and sustained by it, it is impossible it should be pure. The system of party tactics introduced by General Jackson, and carried out by Mr. Van Buren, is one of utter and revolting corruption. Take the testimony of Mr. Brownson, before given, who has been and is yet one of the party, and who has made politics a study all this time, who has been looked up to by the party as an oracle, and whom, we presume, no man, of any party, will accuse of dishonesty, and was there ever a fouler picture of moral loathsomeness presented as a subject of consideration?

#### § 47. Repudiation.

Out of this infected, foul atmosphere, has grown this MONSTER of American public morals. Who will deny, that it is the sole offspring of Locofocoism? Fortunately for the Whig party, in this case, they have nothing to prove or disprove. The Locofocos not only father the child, but they glory in his moral qualities, and think him a prodigiously smart fellow. While the flesh of this nation is smarting and writhing under the lashes which the public opinion of the world is inflicting upon us for this great offence, its authors are dancing and singing around the fires of their barbarous faith.

#### § 48. Nullification.

See our Tract, No. I., page 14, for a statement of the *Districting* law of Congress, and its Constitutional authority. Can anything be imagined more utterly subversive of all law and order, or more radically revolutionary, *de facto*, and in its tendencies, than the action of the House of Representatives of the 28th (present) Congress, in trampling that law under foot? Admitting that the law is unconstitutional, as the nullifiers say it is, still it is *law*, till the proper Constitutional authorities shall have reversed it. The Constitutional action of a Constitutional body, (that is, acting according to its established rules,) is *Constitutional*, in its binding force and effect, till a Constitutional Court, whose province it is to determine that question, shall have decided otherwise. It sometimes happens, that the judiciary does so decide. But their decision has no *retrospective*, but only a *prospective* effect. The operation of the law, *previous* to such decision, is allowed to be Constitutional and valid, because it was the Constitutional action of a Constitutional body, notwithstanding they *erred*, according to the judgment of the judiciary, which is a final umpire. Such is the necessity of society. If any person or persons, or State, may act on the assumption, that a law of Congress is *null and void*, because in their opinion, it is unconstitutional, where are we, but in a state of anarchy? And yet we are often astonished to hear members of Congress, in their places on the floor of legislation, say this, and act upon it, as they did in admitting members of the present House of Representatives, *contrary to law*! Is not this *nullification* by the law-makers *themselves*? It is *Locofocoism*—not of the people, but of leaders. The people *know* it is wrong.

#### § 49. Locofocoism and Tylerism.

Some one has suggested, that John Tyler's Administration should not be embodied with our history, but put in a *parenthesis*. But it will yet be recognised as a legitimate sprout of an old trunk. One of the "GUARD" said to us, while we were remonstrating with him against the course about to be pursued, before it was begun, "THE PEOPLE LIKE BOLD STROKES OF POLICY"—by which we understood him to intimate, that they liked such things as General Jackson did, and that Mr. Tyler was going "to tread in his footsteps," make himself a *third* party, and be *re-elected*. We are perfectly sure we did not misunderstand this conversation, and that such was its point and drift; and we moreover believe, that it was a true echo of the sentiments of the White House at that moment. General Jackson had led off the nation; why could not John Tyler? Doubtless this conclusion was a *non sequitur*—a thing that did not follow of course.

But the facts show how much *example* had to do with it. The nation had been once and a long time deceived; why could they not be deceived again? Faith with the people had been broken with impunity, and with great success; and the reason *seemed* to be plausible, that one might and could do it as well as another. Indeed, if the history referred to, proved anything, it would seem to prove, that deceiving the people, is the best way to prosper. "*Bold strokes of policy*," was certainly the language employed with us, in justification of the course.

We have never for a moment doubted, that *Tylerism* is Locofocoism *gone to seed*, though the latter, as a stock, has shaken off the former as its fruit. Dishonesty begets dishonesty; and

treachery to the interests of the country in one case, for selfish ends, if prosperous, will tempt to treachery in another, for like ends.

§ 50. *The great error of the Whigs, Whig party, and Whig press.*

Look at the Whig press, and listen to the common talk of Whigs. In large portions of the East, in some portions of the West, not a little in the South, and more or less all over the country, the Whig press, and Whigs in conversation, speak of *Whigs and Democrats, the Whig party and Democratic party, Whig ticket and Democratic ticket, Whig votes and Democratic votes, &c., &c.* We hope we have said enough to show, that this is not only a great mistake, but absolutely *suicidal*. The Whigs may toil and sweat in this way, to row their boat against the current; but, if they will look at the trees on the shore, they will see they are all the while going down stream, except as now and then a breeze of "Log Cabin and Hard Cider," or such a name as Henry Clay may come to fill their sails and help them. With a favorable breeze, or without one, they are all the while toiling against a strong and irresistible tide of nature. The world has pronounced in favor of *Democracy*, and is resolved to have it. The great majority of the people of this country are *Democrats, honest Democrats*, and always will be, *unless* the stealth and frauds of Locofocoism shall succeed in bringing them under a *despotism*. It is of no use to say, that the people will distinguish *principles from names*, so long as the Locofocos are called *democrats*. The word, *Democracy*, is the *symbol* of Democracy all the world over, and no power can make it otherwise. If it be said, that we underrate the intelligence of the people by these remarks, it is not true. We only give them credit for honesty. They have a right to take things as they are *called*, and there is no other honest rule. It is the Locofoco leaders alone who underrate the intelligence of the people, by the frauds they practise upon them. They *assume* this want of intelligence, and act accordingly, and the people are betrayed, not for want of discernment, but by their easy confidence. The people, as a body, are not politicians; much less are they abstractionists; but they take things by their *names*, and go straight ahead.

In 1840, the people began to see, what is the fact, that Locofocoism is *servility in the masses and despotism in the leaders*. But the sheepskin was only lifted from the head of the wolf. It requires to be snatched *entirely off*.

§ 51. *How to set it right.*

1. Let the Whig press be reformed in this particular. It would do much less hurt by advocating Locofoco *principles*, than by calling Locofocos *Democrats*. The principles, in their *naked form*, will not bear scrutiny, and are generally a sufficient answer to themselves. But wrap them up in the name of *Democracy*, and they will mislead the majority of the people, simply because the people are honest, and take things by their *names*. 2. Let the Whig press endeavor to set this whole matter in its true light, debate the question, and dispute the point. 3. Let all Whigs, everywhere, scrupulously abstain from applying these terms to Locofocos, show why it ought not to be done, and if necessary to counterbalance the fraud of their opponents, let them take and wear the name themselves, as their right. It has already been done extensively. Let it be done universally, and it will be an approximation to justice. In the end, it will cure the evil. 4. Show Mr. Clay's position, historically, in the ranks of true democracy; where he was under the Administration of Mr. Jefferson; where under Mr. Madison; and how faithfully he has fought the battles of Democracy, under the Locofoco Dynasty, against One-Man Power, against Executive encroachments on the democratic prerogatives of the Constitution, as vested in the Representatives of the people, in the legislative branch of the Government. 5. Show, that the Whigs have occupied this position, all along, and still occupy it; and that Whig measures are for the *whole* people, against the claims of officeholders and public agents. 6. Show, that the genius, doctrines, and practice of Locofocoism, are alike hostile to liberty and democracy. All these things are manifest, and the facts need only be cited, to be felt.

§ 52. *Apology.*

It is with some diffidence, that we have ventured on the suggestions of these pages. We trust, however, we shall not be deemed presumptuous in hoping that they will have some influence; that the Whigs will see and *feel* the false position they have occupied before the people, so far as they have awarded the name of *Democrats* to their opponents; that, from a sense of justice to the public, to all parties, from principle, from conscience, they will pause and check themselves, before they allow this name, in such an application, to flow from their pens, or fall from their lips; that they will see what is due to themselves, and to their cause; that they will challenge the name of *democrats* as properly belonging to the Whigs alone, and show the reasons; and then may we hope, that things will not only get *righted*, but *stay put*.

§ 53. *Importance of symbols.*

Whig democracy prevailed in 1840, in our opinion, *only* because it was *believed* to be *true* democracy. We are also persuaded, it can only prevail now and ultimately for the same

reason. We would not lay aside the "*Log Cabin*," nor "*Hard Cider*," for they are the appropriate symbols of democracy; nor even the "*Coon*," for people like to laugh; nor *songs*, for a great statesman once said truly: "Give me the making of the *ballads* of a nation, and I don't care who makes its laws." Let it not, however, be supposed we recommend *drinking*. We only speak of "*Hard Cider*" as a *symbol*. Doubtless, there will be many new and appropriate devices. The Poetry of symbols is the natural language of the heart—the first and everlasting altar of enthusiasm.

#### § 54. *Mr. Clay as the Candidate for the Presidency.*

It is fortunate for the Whig democracy of the country, that the democracy of their candidate for the Presidency, is so legible and apparent in the chapter of his public life. It may surprise some of the Whigs, but it will be a *poser* to the Locofocos, to find, that nowhere in the republic can be found, among our public men, an *American democrat* from the stump, so consistent, so firm, so unchangeable, so uniform, amid all the fluctuations of parties, that have characterized our history. THERE HE IS, the SAME under Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, J. Q. Adams, Jackson, Van Buren, Tyler—always and invariably the uncompromising Advocate of democracy—of the people's rights, against the encroachments of Executive power; always defending American interests against foreign interests; always advocating protection for American labor and industry; always toiling for the welfare and glory of his own country; always sympathizing, not only with American democracy, but with democracy in every part of the globe, where the people were oppressed, or struggling for freedom; always the defender of the democracy of the Constitution, as the organ and instrument of the democracy of the country; always taking in charge the interests of the masses, not only for the equity of the principle, but as the surest way of promoting the general welfare; the same in defeat as in success, in adversity as in prosperity, under the dark clouds of calumny as in the bright sun of popular favor; never disheartened, never weary, never flagging; but ever prompting and cheering the nation onward to honorable fame and great achievement.

The Locofocos know full well, that they can not impeach the democracy of Henry Clay, nor blast the reputation he has won in the service of his country, and there is nothing they fear so much as the word, democracy, in such an application. Their trade in detraction, vilification, and slander, will avail them little on such a mark. Their only task is now to hold on tight the garment which they stole. We shall see, ere long, whether they do not stand shivering, in the cold, or burning in the sun, for lack of a covering.

#### § 55. *Sum of the matter.*

The result of the whole is—1. That Locofocoism is a *new* system of party tactics, never before known to the country, having no politics in particular, except such as lead to power and the spoils of office. 2. That the leaders only are benefited, while the people are made tools of, and necessarily injured. 3. That it is chiefly indebted for its success, to the assumption of a false name for itself, and to bestowing a false one on its opponents. 4. That it still "*relies*," on the continuance of this fraud for future success.

That it is a *new system*, will be apparent to the slightest reflection on its origin, rise, and singular developments. That it has no principle, but the profit of the Oligarchs, is demonstrated by the facts of our history since its advent. That the people are injured, behold the devastations and overthrow of our national prosperity under its rule. That its success is attributable to the cause we have assigned, observe the facts we have recited. And that they still rely on this, take their own word for it.

#### § 56. *The way to do it.*

ONE thing, *all*, doubtless, will agree in, *to wit*, that to have a good crop in the autumn of 1844, the seed can not be put in the ground *too soon*. It is surprising, that the importance of early efforts to inform the people, is not more deeply, more *practically* felt by those whose *appropriate* business it is to put the means in their hands. The Locofocos have nothing to gain, but everything to lose, by debate before the people. In every important position they occupy, they are forced to *defend*, and they are exceedingly vulnerable, while the Whigs occupy precisely the position they did in 1840, *viz*, *carrying the war into Africa*. All the *facts and principles* which gave the Whigs triumph then, are now more clearly brought out, more impressively stated, and are in all respects more available for effect. It only requires, that they should be thrown into the *lap*, and put under the *nose* of the people. Let the Locos *fire back*. It is only the fire of a retreating, discomfited foe. Their last rally is a *forlorn hope*. Give the people *ammunition*, and let the word go round,—"*Pick your flints, and try it again.*" REMEMBER—all they want is AMMUNITION, IN GOOD TIME. "*Whigs!*"—cried he, whose voice for forty years had been heard from the high places of the land, now speaking to his neighbors, near his own hearth, the 9th of June, 1842—"WHIGS!—AROUSE!—AWAKE!—SHAKE OFF THE DEW-DROPS THAT GLITTER ON YOUR GARMENTS, AND ONCE MORE MARCH TO BATTLE AND TO VICTORY."

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# LABOR AND CAPITAL

## § 1. *What is labor?*

It is any man's or woman's efforts to live and prosper, whether of body or of mind, or of both; whether in agriculture, or commerce, or manufactures, or mechanics, or in either of the numerous branches of these great and comprehensive pursuits; whether in the useful or fine arts, in digging ditches or digging out the sciences; whether in a professional career, or in making books; in teaching, or in study; in legislation, or in government; in making pins, or making cannon; in the use of hands or of feet, of fingers or of toes, of muscles or of brains; in search of knowledge, or in its application; in inventions, or their uses; in making canals, or building ships; erecting railroads, or constructing locomotives; in burning lime or brick, in quarrying or in masonry; in wielding a sledge-hammer, or making watches; in grinding knives, or selling brick-dust; in fishing for oysters, or harpooning whales; in any one of the thousand occupations of the city or the country, on the land or on the sea; and so on, and so on, to the end of that infinite diversity of human pursuits, by which men and women toil for a livelihood, and to get on in the world. In a free country each one chooses his own vocation, and it is not easy to say, whether mind work or muscular effort is hardest.

## § 2. *What is capital?*

Money is usually called capital. But it is not exclusively so, unless it is intended to comprehend everything that will fetch money; or everything that is worth money. In this sense labor is capital. Labor, certainly, is the foundation and cause of wealth. All the world would be poor, and come to nothing without it. Whatever any man has, which others want, and which, being wanted, will fetch money, whether it be a capacity for labor, or any species of property, it is capital. For any man, therefore, to know how rich he is, or how much capital he has, he has only to inquire what he can do and what he has that will fetch money.

## § 3. *The capital of labor.*

He who is able to work, and who can find employment with fair pay, is rich to begin with, and may become rich in the usual sense of the term. A power to labor, where labor is in demand, is the best, most independent, and most productive of all capital. Money at interest, or in stocks, usually produces, in this country, an income averaging perhaps six per cent. Some get more, some less, and some none at all. They are liable to go backward, and lose principal itself. But labor, with economy, can hardly ever be worth less than fifty per cent. That is, a laborer can live satisfactorily, and lay up, as vested capital, half of his wages. In some kinds of employment, he can lay up three-fourths, it may be more than that. Economy and skill in the management of his earnings, may also be made productive of wealth, in addition to the profits of his labor. Some laborers, by a careful use of past earnings, soon get to realize a hundred per cent. on their capital, including labor; and then they are growing rich, wealthy. Industrious labor of any kind, in a country like ours, with economy, and being applied where labor is in demand for wages, is a sure foundation of wealth. Man does not have to labor to acquire the power. It is a capital with which he is endowed by creation, an independent faculty, and more productive than any other.

## § 4. *Skill in labor, and in the management of its avails, is capital.*

Man has not only bones, sinews, muscles, and other powers of bodily labor, but he has mind to direct it, to improve in it, to make it more available, to put all its proceeds to a profitable use, and to improve even its uses. Labor turns bodily power to account, and skill multiplies the profits of labor, so that when a man gets a-going in the world, he goes fast. Riches flow in, and wealth accumulates. A man's power of labor is limited; but his skill is unlimited. Skill is often a thousand times more productive than what is commonly called labor. But, it is to be remembered, that skill itself is the fruit of the labor of mind, or is the employment of mind, as muscular effort is labor of the body. But skill is capital. It is equally applicable to agriculture, as to manufactures; to the mechanic, or the useful, or fine arts. It is applicable to trade and commerce, to every pursuit and occupation of life.

## § 5. *Enterprise is capital.*

It might seem quite unnecessary to say, in view of what enterprise has accomplished in and for this country, from the beginning of our history, that enterprise is capital. With slender means, it has evoked unbounded wealth from the long repose of a continent, and erected thereupon a vast national estate. No other species of capital has contributed so largely to this stupendous result. As the collective power of national enterprise is composed of individual enterprise, we find accordingly the same character in isolated conditions, chequering the whole surface of society with great achievements effected by single persons. There was capital enough in the soul of Washington, to humble the greatest nation, and to make another, with

visions that would have been laughed to scorn as a subject of prophecy. In all our history, and in the various walks of life, are to be found like miracles of enterprise, originating in the profound and inexhaustible wealth, and carried forward to consummation, by the invisible power of man's moral attributes.

### § 6. *Moneyed capital.*

Money is most coveted, because it is most convenient; and its convenience arises from the fact, that it will procure, in exchange, everything which a man wants, or desires. But, in itself, it is dead capital, and the least worthy of respect or affection, as compared with labor, and skill in the application of labor and its avails. When money is put to use, it is said to be active; but it has no natural, inherent productive power. Hoarded money, while in that state, is no better than rusty old iron in a farmer's garret. And when put to use, the income is not the natural product of a natural agent, or natural effect of a natural cause, but a mere commercial result, which is limited and small as compared with the products and avails of labor, and that little is contingent on good management and good security. The principal itself is subject to the same contingency.

Nevertheless, moneyed capital may be an important instrument in the hands of the owner, and is usually an effective power, within certain limits. It will always supply wants, and gratify desires, so long as it lasts. But as productive capital, put to use in the hands of second and third persons, for the increase of itself, it bears no proportion to the productive power of human labor and skill. The fact, that they who employ money, can afford to pay interest for it, and often double, sometimes quadruple the principal sum annually, by the use of it, is proof of this point.

### § 7. *Vested capital.*

By vested capital is commonly understood money put to use for what is called interest or income. The most common forms of vested capital, are bonds, mortgages, negotiable notes, silent partnerships in business firms, stocks in banks, insurances offices, turnpike and railroads, canals, fishing companies, great commercial enterprises, steamboats and steamships, navigation companies, manufactories, state and government securities, and any undertaking that is beyond the ordinary means of individuals, and which requires the combined and aggregate capital of numerous persons having money to put to use. The capital of corporate companies or bodies, formed for these objects, is usually divided into small shares, which, being made negotiable, that anybody can buy or sell, are thence called stocks.

### § 8. *Corporations.*

The object of corporations is to combine the surplus or spare capital of numerous individuals, for enterprises which are usually beyond the reach of single persons. Properly organized by the statute of incorporation, by a division of the capital into small shares, and securing to men of small means equal chances, they are well adapted to a democratic state of society, by bringing down the powers of government, distributing them among the people, and vesting them in the hands of all persons who can raise twenty, or fifty, or a hundred dollars, according to the price of shares. Few and large corporations, monopolizing power in their own specific spheres, are objects of popular jealousy, and justly so. But the multiplication of them, with moderate capital and powers, divided into small shares, spreads them out over the surface of society, and whatever powers they have, be it more or less, is so much resigned by the government, and vested immediately in the hands of the people, who are able and disposed to be owners of stock. It is a wider and more democratic distribution of power. The responsibility of the managers, is to the stockholders for the use of the capital, and to the government, and through the government, to the great body of the people, for the use of their powers. That is the best, most democratic, and most beneficent system of corporations, which enables and encourages laborers and men of small means, widows and orphans, and the more dependent and helpless portions of the community, to become interested in them, by the investment and application of their funds, which they themselves could not employ to advantage. For example:—Two men, in partnership, were joint-owners of mills of great value in the state of Maine, and one of them died, leaving a widow and several children. The widow and children, of course, could not manage such a business; but by an act of incorporation from the state, the widow and the guardians of her children became corporators and managers, and the joint-interest went on as before. It will be seen, that cases are constantly occurring in society, which require the aid of such privileges. All helpless persons, who have capital enough to support them, but who are unable to manage it, naturally resort to such helps provided by the state, in parental care, and by considerations of humanity, as well as for the general welfare.

### § 9. *Laborers may be stockholders and corporators in corporate companies.*

The town of Lowell, in Massachusetts, which has risen from nothing in twenty years, to a population of more than twenty thousand, has between eleven and twelve millions of dollars

vested in her manufactures, employs upwards of *six thousand laborers, male and female*, pays for their work annually *\$1,800,000*, about *fifty per cent.* of which, on the average, or *\$900,000*, they can save, or lay by, after paying their board and necessary expenses. Their savings support a Savings bank in the place, where deposits are constantly being made. Some of them, after having laid up a satisfactory sum, go home with means to settle down for life, while others vest their savings in the manufactures, and become stockholders and corporators—managers of their own stock, and presiding over themselves as laborers, gradually accumulating their interest in these companies. In one manufactory alone, *\$100,000* of stock is owned by those who work in the factories for wages; in another *\$60,000*; and so on. Factory girls, and women who live by their needles, are often stockholders in these and other institutions. It will be observed, that in all these cases, the capital of labor creates the moneyed capital thus or otherwise vested, and that in the case of a laborer at Lowell, who receives in wages *\$200* a year—that is the average—and lays up one hundred dollars, the profits of labor are *ten to one* of the income of moneyed capital at five per cent. In other words, the profits of labor in these cases, are *fifty per cent.* on the cost or principal, that being *\$200*.

#### §. 10. *The effect of corporations on the general welfare.*

1. *Manufactories.* In our tract on the Tariff, No. III., we took occasion to adduce the case of the Glenham woollen factory of Fishkill, N. Y., with a capital of *\$140,000*, which, as proved, actually employs other capital of the country, chiefly agricultural, but yet embracing a variety of other kinds, in all to the amount of *\$1,432,000*. From this aggregate of other capital, thus employed, it will easily be seen, what a great variety of other occupations find a profitable employment by this investment of *\$140,000*. Among the items specified, we notice *66,000* sheep, *22,000* acres of pasture land to feed them, *2,600* acres of farm land to supply the wants of the families belonging to the factory, and *\$8,000* annually used up in the small articles of teazles, firewood, coal, provender, &c. All the laborers and their families belonging to this factory, are, of course, supported by it. All the farmers connected with this establishment, and the owners of the *66,000* sheep, are also supported by it, to the extent of their investments thus employed. It will be seen that the individuals and families connected with the capital of *\$1,432,000* employed by this factory, are neither few in numbers, nor small in the aggregate of their various interests. All of them derive their support from this source, and it is satisfactory, else they would look to another quarter.

Let us carry out the rule furnished by these facts, to another and more comprehensive stage. The entire capital vested in all the manufactures of the United States at this time, is estimated at *\$300,000,000*, (*three hundred millions of dollars*). If we suppose that this aggregate, thus vested, employs an amount of other capital of the country, corresponding with the case of the factory at Fishkill, as above stated, then the whole amount of the other capital employed, and profitably employed, by the manufactures of the Union, would be *\$3,068,571,428*, or a little over *three thousand millions of dollars*! This is doubtless an unexpected, it is even an astonishing result. It may be, that other manufactures, different in kind, do not employ an equal proportion of other capital; there are doubtless some which do not; but some, for aught we know, may employ a greater proportion, enough even to swell the aggregate. The vastness of the amount, at the lowest possible estimate, is sufficient to show the importance of these corporations to the various occupations and interests of the country. There is no occupation, however humble, no man, however poor, that is not materially affected and essentially benefited by them. The wool growing interests of the country, which are chiefly connected with our manufactures, and sustained by them, are estimated at *two hundred millions of dollars*, and the farmers of the country receive annually from the manufactures, for all their various supplies, an aggregate of *sixty six millions of dollars*, which is nearly *nine times* as much as the avails of all our exports of flour, beef, and pork, to all parts of the world. Massachusetts, a great manufacturing state, alone consumes annually more than *forty millions of dollars* of the products of other states, which is nearly a moiety of all our exports to foreign countries.

2. *Collateral evidence.* The assessed value of property of all kinds in the state of Massachusetts, as reported by her legislature in 1841, is *three hundred millions of dollars*. As it is known that official assessments of this kind are very much less than common estimates, often *fifty per cent.*, on an average, in Massachusetts probably *twenty five per cent.*, it may, perhaps, be fairly assumed that the aggregate value of the property of that commonwealth, is not less than *four hundred millions of dollars*, about one fourth of which, or *one hundred millions*, lies in Boston and its immediate vicinity. The capital vested in the manufactures of that state, is about *fifty millions of dollars*. We have endeavored from the best sources of information to ascertain, as near as possible, the amount of value imparted to the wealth of Massachusetts by the manufactures, and the result is, that it can hardly be less than *one hundred millions of dollars*. It has been stated as high as *one hundred and fifty millions*. That the first of these estimates is not too high, may be proved from the fact, that the assessed value of all the

property of the state of Maine, with a little less than two-thirds of the population of Massachusetts, but three times as much territory, is only *seventy millions of dollars*, resulting apparently from the fact that she has few manufactories.

Sir Robert Peel, in his speech at the agricultural meeting at Tamworth, England, in 1843, said:—

"Therefore, gentlemen, in this favored locality, we have no excuse for being behind-hand in the race of agricultural prosperity. Another advantage we possess is, that we live in the neighborhood of a great manufacturing district, and you all know of what importance Birmingham and the great iron district in its neighborhood is—you know also what influence it has in the demand for your agricultural produce, and you have had ample experience that with the decay or increase of the prosperity of that district there are corresponding sympathies on the part of the agriculturists. Thus you have not only a country formed by nature, but possessing the advantage of a great manufacturing district in its immediate neighborhood, and creating a market for its produce."

Every one will see, that this species of evidence is to the same effect, and of the same value, in all parts of the world.

3. *Canal, railroads, &c.* The construction of works of these kinds, disburses over the country the entire amount of their cost, be it more or less, giving employment to laborers, manufacturers, mechanics, artisans, and various classes, who do the work, supply materials, and aid in accomplishing the end. We have not the means for an exact statement of the cost of these works, already completed or begun in the country; but the aggregate must be very large, not less, probably, than some hundred millions. Most of this has been realized by laborers of various classes employed to do the work and supply materials. And it is to be understood, that if all these works were good for nothing when done, the money which they cost has all passed into the hands of those who made them. But in most cases they answer their design, and contribute permanently to the employment and profits of labor, and to the activity, facility, and profits of the business of the country, on an immense scale. They also enhance the value of the property of the country to a great extent. A gentleman owning a very large estate in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, though not bordering on her public works, told us he would be glad to be taxed at any moment for his fair proportion of the whole amount of the state debt, and that such a tax would be but a fraction of the increase of the value of his property on account of these works. If this be true, as doubtless it is, the state, though encumbered with a public debt, by the erection of these works, is yet richer on account of them. The only embarrassment is, how to liquidate the debt most satisfactorily to the people of the commonwealth. All the erections of this kind, whether made by states or by corporate companies, are greatly beneficial to the wide community, in the disbursement and realization of their costs, in the permanent use to which they are applied, in the increase of the general value of property, in the additional and profitable employment which they give to labor, and in promoting the facilities and activity of business. All classes, more especially the poorer classes, feel and reap the benefit. Individual capital could not accomplish these great works. It is only by states, or by the combined capital of numerous individuals, in the form of corporations, that such enterprises can be achieved.

These remarks are equally applicable to all other enterprises on a large scale, which can only be accomplished by associated capital. They are beneficial to the whole country, and to all classes, in the same way, and by the operation of the same causes.

4. *Banks.* For want of space, we are forced to refer to our Tract on the Currency, No. II., or to presuppose an acquaintance with it, for a proper appreciation of the few remarks made here. It is a settled fact, that the business of this country can not be carried on without a paper medium, and the only question is, whether it shall be supplied by private and irresponsible persons, shop-keepers, and the like; or by corporations created and regulated by the government, and responsible to it? Experience has decided, that the evils of the former plan can not be endured, and bank corporations are the result of the necessity of the public. Their powers are specified, their modes of business regulated by law, and they are held accountable to the authorities which gave them being. They have a reasonable amount of the confidence of the public, and the reasons why that has been in some degree shaken, are exhibited in our Tract on the Currency, which are, briefly, the effects of the mal-treatment of government, in a war against its own offspring. Can a child do well, with a father striking heavy blows on its head?

A good system of banking supplies a sound, convenient, and indispensable circulating medium for the demands of business. It is physically impossible, that the vast trade of this vast country, should be carried on with an exclusive metallic currency. The people will use the paper of private and irresponsible persons, with all its evils, if they can not have that of responsible and law-governed institutions. Besides the general soundness of a bank-paper medium, they are usually able, by the conditions on which they are chartered, to supply an adequate currency. But not the least of the benefits of a good banking system, is its effect in suppressing exorbitant usury. By far the greater portion of the sacrifices of property in this country, as the consequence of the circulation of general credit through which we have recently passed, has been occasioned by exorbitant interest exacted by private money-lenders, when the

banks could not loan, and all commercial agents were in trouble. Much of the farming interest and other property of the country, has changed owners in this way, by the foreclosing of mortgages, and the original proprietors, who were well off before, have been ruined by merciless usurers. But in the operation of a sound banking system, exorbitant usury is always kept down, because it is forced to moderation, to a specified limit, by law. (*See Tract on the Currency.*)

5. *Insurance companies, etc.* The benefits of these and similar institutions, are too well known to require defence. They absorb a large amount of capital, which is thus put to profitable use, at the same time that it secures the private property of individuals on an immense scale, at a premium which all can afford, if they can not afford to lose it. A ship insured, is lost, but the owners and shippers do not suffer; a house insured, is burnt, but the owner receives cash for the value; a valuable life insured, is lost, but the surviving relatives get an equivalent for the services of which they are deprived; and in this way the most afflicting strokes of Providence are greatly relieved of their severity. Men bear one another's burdens from motives of interest, where charity would be cold and unproductive. It is a beneficent result of civilization.

6. *Corporations secure activity to moneyed capital.* It is best for all, that money should be in constant use. While lying still, it is dead to all the world, and good for nothing. But they who have money, will not trust it to second and third persons, without security. The rights and powers of corporate bodies, are indispensable to evoke hoarded wealth from its hiding-places, and bring it into use for the benefit of society.

7. *Money vested in corporate institutions, is put under the control of general society, through the government.* This is a prime consideration, especially for those who are jealous of moneyed power. The government is virtually trustee of all funds vested in corporate institutions, prescribes the objects to which they shall be applied, and the manner of using them, employs the corporations as its agents, and holds them accountable. The government is supposed to be partial to the public, and will always endeavor to serve and promote the interests of the public. To have the moneyed power of the country under such control, can not but be regarded as better than to have it in the hands of private and exorbitant usurers, or shavers.

8. *There are many important objects indispensable to the interests of the country, which can not be accomplished, except by the power of associated capital.* The objects of the various institutions we have had under review, will sufficiently show this. If they must be done, they can only be done in this way. And what and where would the country have been without them? Half-way back to barbarism.

#### § 11. *The controlling power of labor, industry, and enterprise, over moneyed capital.*

We have before recognised the substantial capital and productive power of these capacities of man. We have seen that they are many times more productive than moneyed capital. It remains to show, that, in this country, they command and control the latter. Money and property, we know, among us, are constantly changing hands. A man has only to work on, and wait patiently, and with industry and enterprise, he is sure to get both. The wheel of American fortune is perpetually and steadily turning, and those at bottom to-day, will be moving up to-morrow, and will ere long be at the top. The rich man of this year, may be poor the next, and the wealthy family of this generation, is likely to dissipate its fortune in the next. Scarcely ever does it remain in the same line to the third generation. And where is it, when no longer found with the same owners? It is in a thousand or ten thousand hands. Where the laws of primogeniture and entail are abolished, as in this country, and where everything is put under the control of labor, industry, and enterprise, there is a substantial equality. All property, among us, tends to the hands of those who work and wait for it. They are as sure to get it, as the sun is to rise and set.

Where now is the vast estate of Stephen Girard, of Philadelphia? The two millions left in charge of that city, is chiefly in the hands of the lime-burners, brick-makers, quarry-men, stone-cutters, masons, carpenters, walters, architects, artisans, manufacturers, mechanics, lumber merchants, trades of many kinds, and agents of great variety, whose labors, services, and materials were put in requisition for the erection of Girard College without the city, and Girard Square within it. And the immense estate of John Jacob Astor, of New York, where will that be in the next generation? A considerable fraction of it has already gone into the Astor House and other edifices in that city; that is, into the hands of those who built them, and furnished the materials. Every expensive house and establishment that a rich man sets up, scatters the entire cost over the wide community, putting that amount of money and property into other and many hands. Money never stays, except with the miser, and all the wealth of the wealthiest, for the time being, is for the most part in use by somebody, benefitting the poor, and helping those who are not so well off, to rise in the world. It is impossible to keep money and property out of the hands of those who work for it, who are industrious and enterprising. They save it, and they get it. And the productive and absorbing power of frugal and industrious labor is so much greater than that of moneyed capital, that the latter stands no

chance in the competition. It must yield, and give up, and it always does. The relative position of the capital of labor and moneyed capital, is, not that the latter commands the former, but that the former commands the latter. Moneyed capital employs labor, because its owner has need of the service; and the second step of the relation is, that the parties have changed places. Labor, industry, and enterprise, in this country, are all absorbing. They lay their hands upon everything. Their compensation is a fair one, as between the parties. The industrious and frugal toil of the last generation, possesses most of the wealth of this. So will it be with this generation, and so with the next. It is the natural order, and necessary result of American society. Labor is the master here; it is the great capitalist; the embryo millionaire; and he who can stand up, in the bloom and vigor of ripening manhood, pure in heart, and determined to prosper, though he has not a penny in the world, may look abroad, and behold a large estate within his reach. Within his own skin, and deep down in his own soul, lies the capital, the productive power, with which he is to trade. All wealth lies in abeyance to these physical and moral energies, and comes into hand at their summons.

#### § 12. *The lazy character of moneyed capital.*

We speak of the general character of its owners, and with them, it is not only lazy, but often improvident. Its proposal and its terms are, *use me and give me my dividend*. When men get beyond the necessity of labor, they never like to return to it. They seek repose, enjoyment, and exemption from the rude occupations of life. It is seldom, if ever, that they realize the satisfaction they hoped for. But they have become lazy, and by their lazy position they fall into the power of the active mind of the country. They who work are going ahead; while these fall back on their resources, can command nothing but their dividends, and are fit only to make their wills in favor of heirs, who anticipating the future, are waiting only for the good luck that death may bring them, to dissipate, it may be, the estate that falls into their possession. At best, the investments of moneyed capitalists, are only valuable as they are in demand for use by the active, laborious, and industrious portion of the community, who, of the two parties, always derive the greatest benefit from them, and in the end are likely to have the whole. Labor is all powerful, and destined to supplant opulent indolence, by gaining possession of the means of its luxurious ease. Guard their wealth however they may, "riches take to themselves wings and fly away." There is no law of inheritance in American society, that can secure wealth in the same family line, while it is always open to the acquisition of industrious labor. The gifts of fortune are always tendered to those who toil for them, and snatched from those who riot in affluence. Already we behold no inconsiderable fraction of the large investments of the Lowell manufactories in the hands of those who began there by spinning and weaving, and who still spin and weave. And who that has observed the mutations of society for half a generation, or even a less time than that, does not see the same operation going on everywhere?

#### § 13. *The mutual dependence between laborers and moneyed capitalists.*

The rich man can not eat his money; nor clothe himself with bank notes, or gold leaf, or silver plate; nor shelter himself from the inclemencies of the seasons by these materials; nor make of them any of the comforts of life. If he chooses to live at ease, for all necessities, and for all means of enjoyment, he is entirely dependent on those who produce them. For all these he must give his money in exchange, which enables those who minister to his convenience and comfort, to better their condition, and rise in the world. In these very acts of exchange, they are gradually exchanging positions in society. Nor can the wealthy get a return for their investments, or an income from their estates, if there be nobody to use the former, or work the latter. Both parties are served by their relative position for the time being, though it is possible, and not unlikely, that their children will stand in directly the opposite position of their parents, in relation to each other.

The laborer wants the reward of his toil, first for necessities not in his line; next, to add to his comforts; and thirdly, to increase his stock in trade, or augment his estate. But how could he get this reward, if nobody had it to give in exchange for his services? On the other hand, the consideration paid would be of no value or use to its owners, except as it is in demand by those who carry on the active business of society, and minister to its wants.

#### § 14. *Which of these parties is more benefited by the other?*

It is true, that the moneyed capitalist wants his dividend; but the profits of labor, united with moneyed capital, well applied, are many times greater than the proceeds of money as an investment in the usual forms. Labor is the source of all wealth, and with money, as tools in hand, multiplies the principal in manifold quantities. The laborer, working on his own estate, gathers the rich harvest into his own barns, and gives the moneyed capitalist a small fraction for the use of his sickle—for moneyed capital, in the hands of labor, is only an instrument. Or if he works on the estate of the moneyed capitalist for wages, as at Lowell, he soon gets enough to retire in a condition to satisfy his ambition, or become part owner of the

estate, gradually gaining on the original proprietor, with the prospect of supplanting him. Such is the advantage of labor, united with skill and enterprise, over the mere instrument which it employs.

### § 15. *Labor the original and fundamental power of society.*

The recognition of the true position of labor, in relation to moneyed capital, is of no inconsiderable political importance. We mean its position in the actual state and practical operation of American society, where labor is free and sovereign, and not as it stands under a despotism, or in the monarchical and aristocratic countries of Europe. It is our own politics, and our own political powers, with which we have to do. In this country, labor, since our independence was acquired, always has been and still is, not only an original and fundamental, but a controlling power in society, and in the state. We are characteristically and distinctively a nation of *workers*. There are some who do not work; but most people do. Work is the fashion, and the proudest distinction in American society. Nobody looks with respect on those who live in idleness, or who riot in luxurious ease. To have no business, is a kind of living death. A man is lost, who does not work.

Moneyed capital, with us, is a mere *tool* in the hand of labor, and is good for nothing, except as labor will bid for it. The millionaire would be scarcely better off than the owner of a single penny—not even so well off, in regard to his physical wants—if he could not call the laborer into his service; whereas the laborer is much more independent, and can better do without the rich man, than the rich man can do without him. This independence, this high ground of labor, is perfectly well understood in this country, by all parties. As the great majority are workers, and all workers sympathize with each other, the ground they occupy is not only an elevated social position, but a controlling political power. Just show the working power of the country what laws, and what policy of government, will be best for it, and the ballot box will soon demand those measures. Who will say that this demand can be successfully resisted? Who, regarding the well being of the country, would desire it?

### § 16. *The true and best interest of moneyed capital.*

It is to give labor a fair reward, and to make it profitable. But as this can not be forced, as between the parties, trade being always a voluntary transaction, the ability to do it can not be separated from the action of government. All workers, therefore, as well as moneyed capitalists—all laborers are deeply concerned in supporting a public policy, which will put labor in good demand, and thus enable it to command a good price. This depends entirely upon the proceeds of moneyed investments. While these are good, labor will be in demand, and the price of it, or its wages, will be proportionately high. Moneyed investments are sure to pay well, if it can be afforded; and the more they can afford, the better for them. But generally, this ability to give good wages, depends very much, sometimes entirely, on the policy of government, in the privileges it confers on such investments, and the chances it gives to them. If the government wars against them, instead of extending to them its fostering care, if it endeavors to cripple and break them down, instead of protecting and sustaining them, this hostility may and does injure the moneyed capitalist, by rendering his investments insecure and unproductive; but it injures the working classes of the community much more. The rich can hide themselves in a storm of government hostility, though they may be losers; but the poor perish, or are in great distress, for want of employment. Our remark above on the comparative independence of labor, applies to an ordinary state of things, and not to a crisis of this description.

### § 17. *A false notion.*

It has been a prevalent and fatal doctrine in this country, with a certain class of statesmen, that it is always a safe policy and a duty in the government, to fight against moneyed capitalists, in whatever place or shape they lift up their heads, whether in banks, or in manufactories, or in any and all other forms and enterprises requiring associated capital. In this, it is not considered, that the employment and thriving of the people depend on the profitable investment of the moneyed capital of the country; nor that the wages and profits of labor, and the price of its products, depend on the profits accruing from the use of the moneyed capital which labor employs. Moneyed capital is regarded by this policy as a master, not as a servant and instrument; as a hostile power, not as a friendly auxiliary; as having in itself a faculty of independence, not as deriving all its value from labor; and as aiming to acquire a supremacy over society. But a little reflection, in view of what has been said, one would think, ought to show, that the condition of moneyed capital, in this country, is *passive* in the hand of labor, and not *active* to rule over it, and that it is not possible to change this relation of dependence in the former on the latter. Moneyed capital, in itself, is an *ært* power, and derives all its vitality from the touch of labor. For government, therefore, to open the way, by its policy, for the profitable use of money, is the same as to provide for the success and fair reward of industry and work; and that policy which

destroys the profit of money, destroys the profit of labor. Let government strike at the rich, and the blow falls on the heads of the poor.

§ 18. *The effect of allowing foreign labor to compete with home labor, on the same level.*

Estimating the value of moneyed capital in any country by the average price, or interest, paid for its use, American moneyed capital would fall at once to about two thirds of its present value, and the price of home labor would sink to about one third—or jointly the depression would be fifty per cent.—and the value of all other property would sink in like proportion. For it is manifest, that, with no tariff to protect us, the price of American labor must fall to the average price of European labor. They who work for the same market, must work for the same wages. Besides this, we should, to a very great extent, be driven from our own market as producers, and forced, commercially, into the condition of a dependent and tributary colony. [See our Tract on the Tariff, No. III., for a farther elucidation of this point.]

§ 19. *A comparative view of the position of labor in America and Europe.*

We have told in the outset what we mean by labor. IT IS THEY WHO WORK—REAL WORKERS, no matter in what, or with what, or for what end, if it be lawful and honorable work, to supply the wants of civilized man, or the increasing wants of advancing civilization. The more wants, the more work, and so much the better for all, where each chooses his own calling, and finds employment.

But the position of labor in this country is, in a variety of important particulars, a new one in human society. 1. It is *free*—with the exception of African slave labor. This species of freedom, which is a most important attainment in the progress of society, implies a practicable alternative to working on wages at the price fixed by the employer. In Europe, for the most part, there is no such alternative, and the laborer is compelled to work at a price in which he has no voice, or he must starve; and for the reason that he has no voice in fixing his wages, they are too scanty for comfort, much more for bettering his condition, and often too scanty for subsistence. European wages are next to a state of starvation. At best, it is a state of slavery, without hope. But in this country, labor occupies a high social and political position. It is never compelled to work for wages fixed by employers, because there is always open to it the alternative of working on its own hook. American labor, therefore, does not accept a price imposed, but commands its own price. At least, it is always an independent party in the compact. It is made *freely*, and can be as freely dissolved, without incurring the doom of starvation or distressing want. 2. The social position of American labor is such, that none but workers are held in respect—and work is held in the highest respect. No power, in this country, can enforce respect for the man who has nothing to do, and who does nothing. Just in proportion as a rich man retires from society, to wrap himself up in selfishness, does he lose his influence, and the idle, lazy poor man gets little pity in his poverty. Our fathers brought with them both the necessity and spirit of work, and made it respectable. It has been transmitted as the highest recommendation, and the most honorable character. 3. The political position of labor here is all-powerful, and so long as it is so, it can not but be respectable. As a nation of workers, we demand from Government a security for the interests and rights of labor, and one of those rights is, that free American labor shall not be put on the same level with the forced labor of other countries, or any country. It is only necessary for the people of this country to understand correctly what the true interests and rights of labor are, and they are sure to have them secured at the ballot-box. No earthly power can hinder it. What more elevated or more commanding position, can labor possibly occupy? The free American laborer is the most powerful, and may well be the proudest of men.

§ 20. *The dignity of labor.*

"The mandate of God to his creature man is, WORK!" "The GENIUS of work is the Conqueror, the supreme Lawgiver, the born King over affluent idleness." "The Leaders of Industry are the Captains of the world. If there be no nobleness in them, there will never be an aristocracy more."

This is higher-toned phrase than we are addicted to employ, as they who read us well know. Nevertheless, as there is such a vast body of comprehensive truth in it, we have borrowed it for the sake of brevity. It plants labor where God intended it should stand, in the loftiest, most influential position. The plan of Creation is visible in her works. behold the constitution of man, contemplate the character of his mind, and judge, if he was not made for work, if idleness is not a disease, a fatal malady. Creation itself is called the work of God. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," which, though announced as part of the doom of the first transgression, is, by the remedial scheme of man's redemption, converted into a blessing and a dignity. Earth is a work-field, and heaven a rest. It is as bad, as vicious, not to work here, since God has so appointed, as to violate any other



precept of Divine authority. The example of God in the work of Creation, and the example of Christ in the work of Redemption, aside from the force of command, impart the highest possible sanction and the highest possible dignity to those labors of man which have become necessary in this life. Human labor will never have attained its true position, till it shall stand at the head of human affairs. "The Leaders of Industry are the Captains of the world." Such was the design—such is the *tendency*. They who work, *will govern*. We know it has not always been so, and that was a vicious state of society when and wherever it was not so. We know that labor has not, in all history, received due homage. But this fact does not affect, nor impair the validity of its claims.

### § 21. *The physical and moral healthfulness of labor.*

Doubtless, in the best possible state of human society, labor should be neither a toil, nor a task, but the healthful action of all the faculties, bodily and mental. Labor, in most parts of the world, has been so unequally divided, that parts of the race have been excessively burdened, while others have suffered equally for want of a proper share. The pauper or forced labor of Europe is an example of the first, and the pampered ease of its masters an example of the second. The whole Eastern world is full of scenes of this kind. But wherever labor is rising, or has risen to its true position in political society, we observe both the physical and moral healthfulness which it diffuses all around. It is good for man and woman to work, and neither can find the greatest comfort and happiness attainable in the human state, without employment. Nor is it possible, without diligence in some industrial pursuit, to have the best state of health in body and mind. The results of Providence, reveal and announce his designs, viz., that idleness is the curse of the human state, and diligent occupation, in a lawful and useful calling, the consummation of its blessedness.

### § 22. *The content of labor.*

When society shall have made labor what God designed it should be, it will present a happy scene of contentment. Specimens are frequently found, in actual life, to illustrate this desirable state of things. Who has not seen them? And who, seeing, has not envied them? Behold the farmer, happy in his own domain; and listen to the housewife, joyously exulting in song, in the midst of her children, or soothing her infant to repose with a hymn of early love. The wagon boy's whistle, the woodman's laugh, the boatman's glee, the sailor's jolly face, and all the forms of labor's rest on the past, satisfaction in the present, and hope in the future, are so many various symptoms of labor's content. What industrial calling has not its quiet aspects by day, and its refreshing sleep at night?

### § 23. *A new Era of labor.*

It is impossible not to observe, that labor has taken up a new position on this continent, in our state of society, and that a new Era in its social and political importance, is opened on the world. If no interruption should take place in its progress, it will be the true Millennium of labor. During the long nightmare of despotic rule over the European and Eastern world, the breast of humanity felt its heavy tread, and the toiling millions were unable to rise. But here labor has sprung to its feet, lifted up its hands on high, clapped them with joyous exultation, and learnt a new song of freedom—THE REWARD OF LABOR. It has risen, at one bound, to influence and authority. There has never before been such a scene in the history of civilization. And the most remarkable and most auspicious feature of it is, that it occupies a wide theatre—a vast domain of political power. Erect, in the image of God, imitating and obeying God, as a diligent worker, man here has taken possession of his primitive estate, so long alienated, and cultivates it as his own, himself the heir of his own created wealth; and not only the heir, but the sovereign disposer thereof. We know not what may grow out of this new form, this apparently auspicious development of human society; but it has much contingent promise of perpetuity, enlargement, confirmation, and final consummation in all that could be hoped for.

### § 24. *The contingency.*

A protective Tariff is the sole palladium of American labor. Without that defence, it is as sure to fall back prostrate on the level of European, Egyptian, and Asiatic labor, from which it has been lifted up, as the sun will rise in the East and set in the West. If American labor, having the power in its hand, will not protect itself, the fault of parting with its rights, will lie at its own door. The struggle has been a great one, and it will yet be long protracted. Either the rights of American labor must give way, or the despotic rule of the slave must yield to the claims of freedom. It is impossible that both should stand. And as long as both are in conflict, we shall not fail to realize a stony hostility from tottering and crumbling thrones, gathering fresh vigor from despair, assisted by their agents in our own bosom, who are paid by their gold.

### § 25. *Our domestic and foreign trade.*

From Senate Document, No. 340, 2d Session, 27th Congress, we learn, that the internal commerce, or domestic trade of the United States, is *two thousand millions of dollars annually*. Having made this quotation, as it stands in a public document, we would add, that in our opinion, this estimate is *one fifth or five hundred millions* less than the facts would warrant. The Honorable Senator, the author of the above cited document, once stated to us a few facts, from which he deduced the conclusion, that the annual amount of exchanges required to carry on this domestic trade, could not be less than *four hundred millions of dollars*. Add to this all the money required, to be used in paying for the labor employed in producing these fruits of the earth, and these materials, goods, and merchandise; add all required to pay for their transit from one point to another and in the retail distribution of them, and it will be seen, that it not only requires a large circulating medium, which nothing but banks could furnish, but great activity of the same. It will also be seen, as our annual exports do not usually exceed *one hundred millions*, that our domestic trade is about *twenty to one* of our foreign trade, and that on the former, therefore, is our chief reliance for the reward of American labor and industry. The work of production, and the carrying on of this trade, must of course form innumerable commercial relations between the producers and the consumers, between the employers and the employed, between the laborers and the moneyed capitalists. Nearly the entire subsistence, and nearly all the growing wealth of the people of this country, spring from the employment of this capital, and from the action of the labor and industry sustained by it.

### § 26. *Deductions from the foregoing facts and reasonings.*

1. Though money is usually understood to be designated by the term *capital*, in the commercial world, it appears, that labor, together with those moral qualities which enter into it, constitutes the original and fundamental capital of human society, and is more important and more productive.
2. That the capital of labor is more influential and more commanding, socially and politically.
3. That the relation of labor to moneyed capital, is that of the agent to the instrument, of the hand to the tool.
4. And therefore, that the position of the capital of labor is more dignified, and worthy of more respect.
5. That the interests of labor are best promoted by the activity of moneyed capital.
6. That the interests of labor require the existence of corporate bodies, so far as may be necessary to set on foot and accomplish commercial and other useful works and enterprises, which are beyond the capacity of individual capital and unassociated effort.
7. That since banks and other corporations give security to and invite the investment of moneyed capital, it is the only mode by which that species of capital can be brought into effective use for the benefit of the public.
8. That the multiplication of corporations, on right principles, augments democratic influence, by the distribution of the powers of government among the people.
9. That the tendency of labor is to wealth, and that of wealth to want.
10. That the political power of labor in American society, is dominant, and only requires correct information, as to its best interests, to secure them, in the administration of public affairs.
11. That the vitality of moneyed power lies in the arm of labor.
12. That, in the relation of moneyed capital to labor, labor has the best chances.
13. That a correct view of this relation, in its practical effects, is of great political importance.
14. That a great and disastrous political heresy, in regard to this relation, has for a long time pervaded and controlled the counsels of our government.
15. That the rich can hide from a storm raised by government against them, while all its merciless peltings fall upon the poor.
16. That the true policy is always to encourage the investment of moneyed capital, so that labor can reap the benefit.
17. That a home market is the most productive source of national wealth.
18. That labor in this country occupies an eminently high social and political position, as compared with labor in all other parts of the world.
19. That labor is honored of God, and therefore worthy of universal respect.
20. That it is most healthful to body and soul.
21. That it is most fruitful of contentment.
22. That with American society, commenced a new era of labor in the history of the world.
23. That the advancement and consummation of this era, is contingent on a *protective tariff*.
24. That our home trade is twenty times as great as our foreign trade.
25. That every American laborer can stand up proudly, and say, **I AM THE AMERICAN CAPITALIST**, which is not a metaphor, but literal truth.

### § 27. *A picture.*

We will suppose, that the government, in making war on the moneyed capital of the country, and on the various institutions, corporations, and enterprises, in which it was invested, has succeeded in suppressing them; that it has broken down all the banks, dissolved all moneyed corporations, stopped all public works and public improvements, and will neither do these things itself, nor allow others to do them. There is no less money in the country, than there was before, other things being equal; but it is chiefly out of sight, and *hid* of it in tax. The thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of substance

whose families depend on their daily wages for daily bread, solicit employment, but there is nobody to hire them; at least, not more than one in many of them can get anything to do. The soil of the country yields bountifully to the labors of the husbandman, but there is no market for its products; the buzz and din of our manufactories have ceased, and they who worked in them have disappeared; the mechanic finds little encouragement for the use of his art; commerce drops her wings, and her ships are eaten up by worms; the banks of our canals are falling in like a neglected ditch; our railways rust, and there is no motive to repair the damages of time; our cities are noiseless, and the grass grows in the streets; and the whole country has fallen into a deep sleep, a perpetual sabbath of repose. But there is poverty, hunger, nakedness, and universal misery. The wheels of government go heavily along, for lack of wherewithal to grease them.

We admit that such a state of things is not very likely to come to pass; for the people, in 1840, proved, that they are capable of foreseeing the evil, and of preventing it. But we respectfully submit, that some such consequences must necessarily come to pass, from a full and complete operation of such a destructive system. Nay, we have had some foretaste of it already, as all the people of this country are witnesses, in the partial operation of such measures. The effect has been, to stop the use of money, by breaking down those institutions, through whose instrumentality alone it can be had, to answer the demands of this great and enterprising country. For an eighth of a century, we had been rapidly marching toward the consummation of such a destiny, and it is yet to be decided, probably in 1844, whether we shall get in that path again.

### § 28. *A great Fact.*

Till within a few years, the prosperity of this country and its increasing wealth, have been unexampled in the history of nations. Small as our population was, comparatively, and comparatively poor, the debt incurred by the war of Independence, was shouldered by the nation, and between that period and the second war with Great Britain, it was nearly liquidated. This second struggle brought upon us another burden, but this too, was all paid off in about twenty years, and in 1836 we had a surplus revenue of *thirty six millions* to distribute among the states. This is a great and comprehensive FACT, to which we desire to call very special attention. During this half century of prosperity, we labored under some disadvantages, from various causes, probably from none more, than from the want of a proper adjustment and uniform action of our tariff system. Nevertheless, we struggled through them all, and they proved insufficient materially to mar our prosperity, or put in check our increasing wealth.

### § 29. *Another great Fact.*

It is certainly very remarkable, in view of the previous history of our national finances, which had improved so steadily, and at last swelled to such a scale of income, that, on a sudden, this current of our public affairs should be *reversed*; that, in a time of peace, the Government could not get money enough to defray its own expenses, without borrowing; that it was compelled to withhold the fourth instalment of the public funds voted to the States in 1836; and that the expenditures and appropriations of the Government, from the 4th of March, 1837, to the 4th of March, 1841 (*only four years*), should have been some *fifty millions of dollars* in excess of the revenues of the same time! (See our Tract, No. 1, *THE TEST*, pp. 10 and 13.) And it would seem, that the nation has been plunged in a slough of this kind, from which it is very difficult to get out. The causes, which have produced such an amazing reverse in our national fortunes, must have been prodigiously potent. The momentum of a half century of a nation's rapidly increasing prosperity, rising like the sun, and swelling like a mighty river, as it descends into the sea, required no common cause to check, derange, prostrate, destroy it. There is no accounting for this GREAT FACT, except by misgovernment, and that, too, on a stupendous scale. It takes a long time to build up a nation; but destruction is a *quick work*.

In our state of society, a good Government makes a prosperous people. It is impossible, that this country should not be growing great and rich, and that without interruption or check, so long as the various occupations of life are suitably encouraged and protected, each in its fair proportion. But the Government had so legislated away the prosperity of the people, and reduced them to such straits and such distress, that the sources of revenue were cut off and dried up. The public expenditures were also unnecessarily great and prodigal, and altogether unprecedented. (See our Tract, No. 1, pp. 9 and 10.) The people can not supply the wants of the Government, unless the Government gives them a chance. On the other hand, they are sure to make an overflowing treasury, while in a state of prosperity, and under a suitable system of revenue laws. But the success of the Government, in its war on our moneyed institutions and other great enterprises, in which moneyed capital was *impoverished*, broke down the currency, which was the means of public wealth, by being the *base of private property*. The entire credit system of the country, under which we had

grown up, prospered, become wealthy, and powerful, was also assailed by the Government, and beat and broke under the weight of its powerful hand, and by its repeated blows. Was it strange, under such a destructive policy, that the people, the Government, the whole nation were impoverished? The Government had struck the people such heavy blows, so long continued, that the misfortunes of the people fell back on the Government with a weight, under which it reeled, as the people had reeled before, and unfortunately fallen. The Government had ruined a nation's prosperity, and as a consequence bankrupted an overflowing treasury. (See our Tract on the Currency, No. II. p. 16, for the aggregate of losses to the country by that Destructive Dynasty.)

### § 30. *The Chief Cause.*

It is undoubtedly true, that the causes, more properly, perhaps, the *instruments*, have been several, and the system of injury complicated, by which the country has been so fearfully run down. But the *great aim* of that destructive policy, which has been practised upon us, was to *set labor to war against moneyed capital, by legislation and Government*; and the *mode* of this warfare was an endeavor to cripple and break down those institutions and enterprises, in which the moneyed capital of the country was chiefly vested.

### § 31. *The destructive and fatal effects of this warfare.*

Unless it were proposed to rob moneyed capitalists, and divide the spoils *directly*, any attempt to cripple them by legislation and Government, with the design of better securing the rights of the laboring classes, must necessarily cripple and destroy the latter. Whatever war the Government may wage against capitalists, short of robbing, it is always in their power to withdraw their funds from those uses which have heretofore, in our experience, so well served the convenience of the public and the wants of labor, and turn them into investments, which will only serve themselves. In some respects, and to no small extent, they would be able to serve themselves much better than before, as by exorbitant usury, and in other ways taking advantage of the necessities and distresses of the people, which must necessarily result from such an administration of public affairs. The rich can protect themselves, but the poor can not, when the Government forces all classes to change their modes of business and of living. If the great law of mutual dependence in society be overlooked or violated, in the policy and measures of Government, and an attempt be made to injure and cripple moneyed capitalists, for the benefit of laborers, the most fatal consequences must unavoidably ensue. Facts of this kind have already been alluded to, in cases of exorbitant usury. If the rich can do without the poor, by turning their capital into other investments, than those which give to the latter employment, food, raiment, and a comfortable home, with chances of rising in the world, and of becoming rich in their turn, the poor can not do without the rich, who, in these ways, minister to their necessities, and secure to them the means of bettering their condition. A war upon the rich, in legislation and government, is a war upon the poor, of the worst kind, and of the most disastrous effects. It is a war upon the most vital interests of society, and upon the relations of mankind in the social state, which, if carried out, the entire social fabric must bend and break.

### § 32. *A plain statement.*

Nothing but an extraordinary infatuation could have shut the eyes of the people to the *fact*, that moneyed capital employed in the country, is for the interests of labor; that its uses afford chances of improvement to those who have little, and give bread, clothing, and a home to the poor; that rich men seek to invest their funds where they can be employed by labor; that the modes of investment are naturally determined by the habits and wants of the commercial, agricultural, manufacturing, mechanical, and other laboring classes of the community; that what these want will be most productive to capitalists, because most beneficial to labor; that capital in large amounts, intrusted to the keeping and management of secondary agents, must necessarily be vested with corporate rights, to be secure for all concerned, and most effective for general good; that moneyed capitalists would never put their funds in other hands without such protection; that banks are necessary to furnish a circulating medium, convenient in form, and adequate for the trade and business of the country; that all these institutions had their origin in the wants and necessities of the people; that in putting down and destroying them, by legislation and Government, the people only put down and destroy themselves; and that the greater the income of capital vested in these various forms, as a permanent state of things, so much greater the evidence of general prosperity.

But the revolution introduced in the financial policy of the Government, and forced on the commercial habits of the people, from 1830 to 1840, broke up all these established relations of the different parts of the community toward each other, and left all in a mass of confusion and ruin, to be reorganized and set in order again, as best they could.

§ 33. *The way it worked.*

It is true, that this work of destruction was not thoroughly carried out, for there was not time for it, before the people, with ruin staring them full in the face, began to feel their danger, by the pressure of present calamity, and showed symptoms of a desire to avoid it. Nevertheless, these old institutions of the country were shaken by the onset; some of them fell down and were entirely broken up; confidence in them was impaired; capitalists knew not where they could safely vest their funds for the uses of the community, and consequently withheld, or withdrew them, or vested them in forms not liable to such attack; the natural connexion between moneyed capitalists and the laboring classes, was dissolved; while the rich were trying to protect themselves from the effects of the war waged upon them, in the uses of the functions of Government, the poor were plunged in want and distress; the financial habits of the Government and the commercial habits of the people were entirely broken up, and precipitated into new modes of action, leading to new, and as could not be avoided, to painful and calamitous results, public and private; the credit and enterprises of the States, were prostrated with the credit and enterprises of the people; the sources of public revenue were exhausted; and Repudiation followed, with its indelible stain on our national character. We need not recite more particularly the ordeal of financial embarrassment and commercial distress, through which this country has so recently passed, by means of this vindictive, insane, and fatal policy.

§ 34. *This war unnatural.*

It is certainly unnatural for labor to do that, which deprives it of tools to work with, cuts off its chances, and involves it in distress. For by breaking down moneyed capital, it breaks down itself. It is moneyed capital which makes business grow and thrive, gives employment to labor, and opens to it avenues to success in life. In the state of American society, and in a prosperous condition of the country, a comfortable degree of wealth is within the reach of every honest, industrious, and enterprising man. The moneyed capitalist has no political superiority or advantage over the laborer, and no right in the republic, which is not secured to both. It is, therefore, the laborer's interest, that the wealth of the rich should be so invested as to impart the greatest activity to trade, and the greatest effectiveness to useful enterprise; and in nothing is this end so surely accomplished, as by those moneyed and other corporations, which are organized for this sole purpose. If this capital were to lie dead, the loss to the country would be immense, and that loss would of course be divided among all classes of people, and participated in by the Government. It is as much the duty of the Government, to endow moneyed capital with the faculties of the greatest activity and effectiveness, as it is the interest of its possessors to consent that it should be so used, and of labor to employ it. What supreme folly, then, for labor to go to war with moneyed capital! It thereby wars against its own life and means of success. The blow aimed at the moneyed capitalist, strikes over on the head of the laborer, and is sure to hurt the latter more than the former.

§ 35. *The capacities of our Country.*

Well and rightly governed, it is capable, not only of astonishing the world, but of astonishing itself. If things do not go on well, it must be owing solely to the perversion of our institutions from their design. There is no sufficient apology, that our general prosperity should ever be interrupted. It is impossible that it should be, except by a violation or misapplication of the trusts reposed in our public functionaries. By a suitable protection of the interests of American labor and industry, from a self-sacrificing rivalry with a foreign, oppressed, and degraded pauperism, which is in no wise mitigated, but only aggravated and rendered more hopeless by the favor done to their oppressors; by a proper encouragement of the voluntary enterprises of our own citizens, the people of this country, with the rich and inexhaustible treasures of creation comprehended in our jurisdiction, are capable of producing amazing results. That almost astonishing height of prosperity, to which we had attained, under all the disadvantages of a defective tariff system, before the advent of the late Destructive Dynasty, is conclusive and impressive evidence of what this nation is capable of, under a wise and faithful administration of our public affairs. We had been put in a train, by which we were enabled to discharge with ease the entire and heavy debt incurred by the last war with Great Britain, and to overwhelm the public treasury with surplus funds; the public domain in the west was in such demand, that the sales of one year amounted to twenty-four millions of dollars, and although there were special reasons for this fact, which could not be expected to operate in perpetuity, to an equal extent, nevertheless, in a prosperous state of things, there would be a steady increase in those sales, which, under an equitable system of distributing the proceeds among the States, whose property they are, would relieve the burdens of the indebted States, and give the others a chance for such enterprises as might best promote their interests.

Providence has assigned us a rich, productive, and glorious heritage, and established among us and over us a new, regenerate, and admirable system of Government. It has been abused, indeed; but it is good. All we want is good and faithful men at the head of it. The wealth of the country is inexhaustible, and the enterprise of the people is unsubdued, notwithstanding all our late misfortunes. Give them a good Government, and they can not help going ahead, and outstripping every nation on the globe.

### § 36. *The chances of life in this Country.*

Ours is a country, where men start from an humble origin, and from small beginnings rise gradually in the world, as the reward of merit and industry, and where they can attain to the most elevated positions, or acquire a large amount of wealth, according to the pursuits they elect for themselves. No exclusive privileges of birth, no entailment of estates, no civil or political disqualifications, stand in their path; but one has as good a chance as another, according to his talents, prudence, and personal exertions. This is a country of *self-made* men, than which nothing better could be said of any state of society.

### § 37. *The mutual dependence between the Government and the People.*

Nothing is more instructive to this point, than the chapter of our own history. Except as the Government, by its policy, shall enable the people to prosper, in a free country like ours, where tyrannical exactions can not be enforced, the Government itself can not prosper, but its finances will be embarrassed as soon as its own measures shall have brought embarrassment and distress on the people. A crippled and disheartened population, who have no money, either to pay taxes or buy luxuries, can not send money into the public treasury. While they are poor, the Government will be poor.

### § 38. *A Retrospect.*

Understanding, as we now do, if what we have said is correct, the relation between the labor of the country and its moneyed capital, we must look back with astonishment at the policy of the Federal Administration, from 1829 to 1841, when the cry rung through the land, and never ceased—DOWN WITH THE BANKS! DOWN WITH MANUFACTORIES! DOWN WITH CORPORATIONS! DOWN WITH CAPITALISTS! It is a history that one can hardly believe in!

While memory lasts, and fathers are capable of telling the story to their children; while true Americans are endowed with concern for the welfare of the country, and have virtue enough to stand up for its interests; and while history may be relied upon to discharge its impartial functions, it will not fail to stand stereotyped in the minds of the American people, to be rehearsed to the listening and succeeding generation, and recorded in the annals of this nation, that, for the period above named, we had a *re-lapse and collapse* in our national welfare; never to be forgotten; that an unlucky star rose in our hemisphere, ascended to its meridian, and marched to the western hills, leaving an *ominous tail behind*; that the people were persuaded for a time, that it was the *TRUE SUN*, and were hard to be convinced of its eccentric and ill boding character; that it brought famine, pestilence, and death; that demagoguism was the rage of its season, inoculating the poor with a mania against the rich, and the laborer with jealousy against the moneyed capitalist; that the love of *ONE MAN POWER*, was the chief malady that afflicted the nation, and its ascendancy the most remarkable occurrence of the time; that the long-established, simple, and democratic habits of the people, social and political, were superseded by the dictation of a Chief, and by the aristocratic assumptions of his menials; that new, unheard-of, and destructive doctrines were promulgated for the government of the country; that a well-ordered system of currency was broken up and destroyed; that the useful relations between capitalists and the laboring classes, were violently assailed, and so far dissolved, as to bring great distress on the industrious and working population; that States and large corporations were first enticed to enlist in great enterprises, and then forced to suspend them, and to stop payment, by sudden changes in the policy and measures of the Government; that our credit at home was prostrated, and abroad became the by-word and scorn of nations; that the shameful doctrine of the Repudiation of debts, was for the first time avowed and sanctioned by legislative authority; that the superstructure and very foundations of society were shaken in the general convulsion; in short, that times, modes, customs, morals, and manners underwent a complete revolution, so that the republic that *was*, could hardly be recognised in the new state of things.

It was because the relation of labor to moneyed capital, was entirely mistaken and misrepresented, and a war of Government made upon the latter, as if it was the natural enemy of the former.

§ 39. *The Future.*

The dawn of a brighter day has gleamed, or begins to gleam on this long-suffering and much-abused nation. The last (27th) Congress, notwithstanding the taxason and all its attendant difficulties, gave us a Tariff, which has put us in a position to start for the recovery of a long lost national prosperity. This great boon of Whig policy has operated like a charm on every branch of the business and trade of the country, has brought back the specie, the absence of which had undermined our currency, and the people are beginning to open their eyes to the true character of that Destructive Dynasty through which we have passed. They see what ruin it brought upon us, and begin to understand the causes—especially do they see, that the war of Government on the long-established monetary system of the country and its great commercial and financial agencies, was a war on its labor and industry. This great discovery will lead to important results. The prophecies of the faithful, uttered in dark days, being now interpreted by their fulfilment, the prophets themselves will be honored. What have we suffered as a nation, that was not foretold as the necessary consequence of that destructive policy? What of good was predicted, in the beneficent operation of a Tariff like that of 1842, which the brief experiment does not begin to shower upon us? Who are they that foretold these things? Who is CHIEF among them? The sad and gloomy days of our political misfortunes, it is to be hoped, are drawing to a close. The steady counsels of HENRY CLAY, once and for a long time spurned, are now beginning to be appreciated. The eyes and hopes of the nation are turned and turning to that bright STAR OF THE WEST, and the suffrages of a great people are waiting to honor him. It is yet indeed a *contingent* future, into whose vista we gaze with an interest so profound and intense, and with hopes not unmingled with concern, because it is contingent. Nevertheless, there are certain and numerous facts, rising thick and fast, out of the past and the present, the grateful import of which can hardly be mistaken. The people are waking; they are coming; and in 1844, as in 1840, their power is likely to be felt. Now, as then, they understand what is to be done, to make miscreants tremble, and drive traitors for ever from power and influence. Enough of mischief, surely, has been achieved; LET US TRY FOR THE GOOD.

§ 40. *Revolutions never go backward.*

Under our form of Government, other revolution than that of opinion, is impossible. Can anybody doubt there was a great revolution of this kind in 1840? And where is that feeling? Have the people changed their minds? They would not act, till the time of *rescue* should come, and the silly crew at the head of affairs, took the people's *disgust* as a compliment to their *treason*! The banished horde also took courage. But the sleeping fires have only been made hotter, by that respect for order which sealed them up, and for a time repressed them. The internal pressure tends upward, to open a place of utterance ere long, and cast its broad light on the dark upper sky, and thence to astonish those below. A free nation, once convinced of its wrongs, must be avenged, and woe to them who have done the wrong! BACKWARD? OR FORWARD? is the question for this nation to answer, and it will be answered. They have chosen a LEADER, and the cry is—ONWARD!

§ 41. *The means.*

Much of precious time, and of useful appliances, has been lost, irrecoverably. There is a partial remedy, however, in a more diligent application of time and means yet on hand. Will not they who can speak, make themselves heard; they who can write, take the pen; they who can work, begin to stir; and they who have money, give it freely, at the call of the country? Where is the virtue of '76? The Destructive Dynasty has done us infinitely worse things, than the British Crown ever did. Shall a confidence in our Captain—he is a good one, truly—put us asleep on our arms? After the battle, let us hope for the repose, which, in manly conflict, shall have been purchased.

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THE PUBLIC LANDS.

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## THE PUBLIC LANDS.

### § 1. *The Question.*

THE question we have to consider is—What were the *conditions* of the Deeds of cession of the public domain from the States to the United States, what were the *purposes* of those acts as understood by the parties, and what *practical rule or rules* will result from them, for the administration of this great estate, and for the disposition of its proceeds?

### § 2. *The original Controversy which led to these Cessions.*

It should be understood, that while the Colonies were parts of the British empire, the public lands were chiefly owned, under charter rights from the Crown, by Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, while the other of the thirteen original States had no interest in them. It will be apparent, however, that the perils, toils, cost of blood and treasure, and other sacrifices of the Revolutionary struggle, fell equally upon all the States, while the debts were rapidly accumulating, and in the end rose to a great and oppressive magnitude. It was impossible, in these circumstances, to repress the question, Whether it was fair, that the States which had no interest in the titles of the public lands, should be obliged to fight, shed their blood, and pour out their treasures *equally* in defence of this vast territorial domain, and finally be excluded from all participation in the benefits? More than this, whether they should be left in the end, with a debt upon their shoulders, without means or power to meet it, while the other States, which would have done no more, would have an estate large enough for an empire, and valuable beyond estimation? No one can deny the pertinence of such a question. It was unanswerable.

### § 3. *The political Character of the Confederation.*

It was a mere association of separate sovereignties, for common good, and for a common end. We were not a nation, in the common sense of the term, till the adoption of the Constitution, unless the States be regarded in the light of so many nations, having all the attributes of sovereign powers, as was actually the case. Of course, in this view, we were not *one* nation, but *several*, which leaves the matter as we feel obliged to represent it. The Confederation was capable of dissolution; the Union is not, except by violence. The question about the public lands, as it existed among the States, was started, agitated, and settled by them, in their capacity and character, as *independent sovereignties*, not as integral portions of a republican empire. For a right understanding of the case, in determining the question before us, it is necessary, that this state of things should be kept in view.

### § 4. *The Action of the old Congress on this Subject.*

Contemporaneously with the agitation of this question among the States, Congress, for several years, sympathized, and formally expressed their views and purposes. To check the progress of discontent, and suppress controversy between the parties to this question, they had recommended a cession of these territories to the United States for common use and benefit, and in October, 1780, "*Resolved*, that the unappropriated land that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, by any particular State, pursuant to the recommendation of Congress of the 6th of September last, shall be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States," that is, of the *confederated* States, such being their position at the time, before the Union, under the Constitution, was conceived. The recommendation alluded to and this resolution were held out as a *lure* to the States, and as a *security* of their rights in the public domain. Considering the character of the Government at that time, under the Confederation, it was precisely the same as saying to the States, in order to remove all grounds of jealousy and concern—*You shall in no wise lose your rights in this property, as STATES.* It was to rescue the lands from controversy *between* the States, that this arrangement was recommended and consummated, and not to invalidate their title as parties. It is obvious, if the States, which owned the lands, were unwilling to give a *part* interest in them to the other States, that they would never entertain the idea of making over the *whole* to a third party, and all for the benefit of that party. It would be absurd to suppose, that such was the case. But the term "*United States*," at that time, was synonymous with *confederated* States, and that settles the point.

### § 5. *The Deeds of Cession.*

It is to be observed, that the States, which owned the public lands by charter rights, were slow and reluctant to part with them, and it was only a sense of justice to the other States, and of the necessities of the country, that finally prevailed. New York came first into the arrangement, in 1780. Virginia, whose domain was vast, held the question in suspense, till 1783, and although the resolution of Congress, in the foregoing section, was couched in terms expressly to guaranty the ultimate destination of the avails or proceeds of the lands

to the States, in their *State capacity*, yet, to make the security doubly secure against any possible future interpretation of the cession into a *quitclaim*, the Legislature of Virginia selected the most explicit terms to guard and defend this point, in their act of cession, as follows:—"That all the lands within the territory so ceded, and not reserved," &c., "shall be considered a COMMON FUND, for the use and benefit of such of the United" (*confederated*) "States as have become, or shall become, members of the Confederation, or Federal alliance of the said States, Virginia inclusive, ACCORDING TO THEIR USUAL RESPECTIVE PROPORTIONS in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be FAITHFULLY AND BONA FIDE disposed of for that purpose, AND FOR NO OTHER USE OR PURPOSE WHATSOEVER."

Massachusetts followed in 1784, and having the law of Virginia before them, must have intended the same thing. In 1786, Connecticut passed her act of cession "to the United" (*confederated*) "States, in Congress assembled, for the common use and benefit of the said States, Connecticut inclusive." In 1787, South Carolina ceded her vacant territory "to the United States, in Congress assembled, for the benefit of said States." In 1789, North Carolina ceded in terms as follows:—"All the lands intended to be ceded by virtue of this act, shall be considered as a COMMON FUND for the use and benefit of the United" (*confederated*) "States of America, North Carolina inclusive, ACCORDING TO THEIR RESPECTIVE AND USUAL PROPORTION in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be FAITHFULLY disposed of for that purpose, AND FOR NO OTHER USE OR PURPOSE WHATEVER." The cession from the State of Georgia was made in 1802, the conditions of which are as follows:—"That all the lands ceded by this agreement to the United States, shall be considered as a COMMON FUND, for the use and benefit of the United States, Georgia included, and shall be faithfully disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatever."

### § 6. Exposition of the Deeds.

First, it is to be considered, that they originated and were matured under the *Confederation*, when the States existed as independent sovereignties, with their separate systems of political economy. The agitation of the question commenced early in the history of the Revolutionary war, and the principles of cession were settled before 1780, in which year the old Congress, as we have seen, acted formally on the subject, first, by recommending this course to the States, and next, by adopting a resolution to secure the rights of the States. The acts of cession by six of the seven ceding States, bear the following dates:—that of New York, 1780; of Virginia, 1783; of Massachusetts, 1784; of Connecticut, 1786; of S. Carolina, 1787; of N. Carolina, 1789; and the Constitution was adopted in 1789. Thus it appears, that the whole plan was fixed in that state of things, which existed under the Confederation. This is an important fact in the question of interpretation, as it goes to show in what sense the terms and phraseologies of the Deeds of cession were used. The States at that time had no ideas of the UNION, as embodied in the Constitution of the United States, and as entertained since its adoption; but they all looked to their separate interests as paramount with them to all other considerations. In this view, let us examine the terms and phraseologies of the Deeds. 1. "Shall be considered a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United" (*confederated*) "States, as have become, or shall become, members of the Confederation, or Federal alliance of the said States." The words "*common fund*," and "*such of the United States*," in connexion with what follows, most clearly constituted the *States*, in distinction from the *Confederation*, as the parties to be benefited by this arrangement. Every one will see, that such language was not required in a cession to the *nation*, for the use and benefit of the nation, and that it is incredible it should have been employed for that object. 2. "Virginia inclusive," "Connecticut inclusive," "North Carolina inclusive," "Georgia included." This, it will be observed, is a legal technicality, arising from the principle of law, that when one party of two or more parties, makes a conveyance to the others, as in this case, the party executing the deed retains no right, but conveys all title, except by the introduction of this saving clause, as "Virginia inclusive," which leaves Virginia her title, according to the terms specified. If the cession had been made for the use and benefit of the United States as *one nation*, Virginia of course would have been included, and there would have been no need of this phrase; but as it was manifestly made for the use and benefit of the *States*, in their separate capacities, it was necessary in law to introduce this phrase, to save the right of Virginia, else she would have retained none. If there were no other evidence of the *intent* of this instrument, as being for the *States*, and not for the *nation*, this alone would be conclusive. 3. "According to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure." Here is the *rule* of distribution. It would be strange, indeed, that it should be possible to suppose that no distribution was intended, when the *rule* is given! Can anything be more clear? 4. "Shall be faithfully and bona fide disposed of for that purpose." "*Bona fide*," in good faith. But what faith is required for a party to manage its *own* for itself? If the public domain is the property of the United States as a *nation*, there is no faith with the *States* concerned in its administration. 5. "And for no other use or purpose whatsoever." If these lands were not given in trust for the use and

benefit of the States *as such*, then the contracting parties are chargeable with the absurdity of agreeing, that they shall not be disposed of for the use and benefit of foreign powers ! Was there any apprehension of that ?

With these *express and explained* conditions (it is remarkable that they were *explained* by *expletive* phraseology), the General Government *accepted* the trust, and became a party to the covenant. It was to settle a most serious difference, an alarming controversy among the States—a controversy which had well nigh lost us our independence, and which, if continued, would have rendered independence of little avail. It was a great compromise, such as has frequently characterized our history in our more critical emergencies. But the States took care not to surrender their rights.

### § 7. *The Deeds of Cession, Deeds of Trust.*

In all cases of trust, the trustee is not proprietor of that which is put into his hands, but an agent bound by the instructions of the instrument that invests him with his functions. This is a principle which is perfectly understood, because it is one constantly practised in society, in the administration of common law and statute regulations. In the case of *Jackson vs. Clark*, Supreme Court, U. S., 1 Peters, 635, Chief Justice Marshall, after having cited the terms and conditions of the Virginia cession, as we have done above, says—"The Government of the United States, then, received this territory *in trust*, not only for the Virginia troops on the Continental establishment, but also for the use and benefit of the members of the *Confederation*: and this *trust* is to be executed, by a faithful and *bona fide* disposition of the land for that purpose. We can not," says the Chief Justice, "take a retrospective view of the *then* situation of the United States, without perceiving the importance which must have been attached to this part of the *trust*," &c. Throughout his argument, in this decision, the Chief Justice uniformly calls these Deeds of Cession "*a trust*;" and there is probably no man who would presume to call this authority in question.

In 1825, the Hon. Rufus King, of New York, introduced a resolution into the Senate of the United States, having in view the appropriation of the proceeds of the public lands, *by the States*, to the emancipation and colonization of slaves, with the consent of parties, which began thus:—"Resolved, that as soon as the portion of the existing funded debt of the United States, for the payment of which the public land is *pledged*, shall have been paid off," &c. Of this resolution, Chief Justice Marshall, in a letter of Dec. 14; 1831, to the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Sec. of the Am. Colonization Society, says:—"I have always thought, and still think, that the proposition made by Mr. King, in the Senate, is the most *unexceptionable*," &c. This term, "*unexceptionable*," we suppose, refers to the *right* of the States to the proceeds of the public lands, as the recognised ground of Mr. King's resolution.

Mr. Madison, in a letter to the same gentleman, on the same subject, Dec. 29, 1831, says: "My thoughts and hopes," (for the aid of Colonization,) "have long been turned to the rich fund presented in the Western lands of the nation, *which will soon entirely cease to be under a pledge for another object*." General Jackson, in his message of Dec., 1832, says: "As the lands may now be considered as *relieved from the pledge*, the object for which they were ceded having been accomplished," &c.

These several authorities, in view of the language of the Deeds of cession, will doubtless be regarded as sufficient to establish the "*TRUST*."

### § 8. *The Principle of Distribution recognised in the Trust.*

"According to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure." Here, as will be seen, is at the same time the *principle* and the *rule*. That such was the understanding of the compact between the States on one side and the United States on the other, is evident, first from the fact that the Deeds of Cession were familiar to all the parties before they were finally ratified, and next from the fact, that the United States *accepted* the trust on this condition and with these instructions. If there had been nothing *else*, either in the history of the time, or in the Deeds of conveyance, to settle and determine the *principle* of Distribution, this alone would fix it. But we know very well, that these Cessions were made under the *Confederation*, as the date and terms of them show, when each State looked after its own interests with a jealous eye. Hence we see the reason, why these Deeds are so carefully guarded against acts of usurpation and fraud on the part of the General Government, which, it was justly apprehended, might be committed on this immense estate. No one can read the history of that time and these documents, and not be convinced, that such was their *aim*; and if it was, and if it was so *understood* by all the parties, *that is enough*.

### § 9. *The Assumption of State Debts in 1790.*

As all the States, *united*, had fought the battles of the Revolution, and as one of the great advantages of independence *acquired*, would be the possession of the wealth of the public lands, it was only fair, that the States should be interested in these lands, "according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure." After long delays, and with great difficulty, this question was finally and equitably adjusted, and the General Gov-

ernment was made the TRUSTEE of the public domain, *for and in behalf* of the parties, proprietors, that is the *States*, as we have shown. But both the nation and the States were left under the burden of heavy debts at the close of the war. In 1790, with a population of about 3,000,000, and a gross national revenue of only \$2,382,617, the debts of the States were over \$20,000,000, and those of the United States, \$56,000,000. (See House Document No. 296, 3d session, 27th Congress, page 470.) As the General Government had in charge the public lands, the property of the States, *as security*, it was required by the States, that the United States should assume the State debts, chiefly incurred by the war, which was done in 1790, as follows:—For New Hampshire, \$300,000; for Massachusetts, \$4,000,000; for Rhode Island, \$200,000; for Connecticut, \$1,600,000; for New York, \$1,200,000; for New Jersey, \$800,000; for Pennsylvania, \$2,200,000; for Delaware, \$200,000; for Maryland, \$800,000; for Virginia, \$3,500,000; for North Carolina, \$2,400,000; for South Carolina, \$4,000,000; for Georgia, \$300,000. (See Document as above.)

To show the *grounds* of this assumption, and the *consideration* held in charge therefor, we need only cite the 22d section of the Act of assumption, as follows:—“*And be it further enacted, That the proceeds of the sales, which shall be made of lands in the Western Territory, now belonging, or that may hereafter belong, to the United States, shall be, and are hereby, appropriated towards sinking or discharging the debts, for the payment whereof the United States now are, or by virtue of this act, may be, holden, and shall be applied solely to that use, until the said debts shall be fully satisfied.*”

Here is a distinct recognition of the “TRUST,” and a willing discharge of its obligations, *out of its avails*, or holding its avails in *mortgage*. As this debt could not be immediately paid, but must be necessarily funded, the transaction was in effect and simply a *loan* of the credit of the United States to the States, for their relief, the former holding the property of the latter *as security*, and being at the same time the Trustee and Agent of that property. It is called *assumption*. But so far from being a *gratuitous* assumption, it was a fair commercial transaction—a bargain *to pay*, for a valuable consideration—in this case, a *full and safe* consideration. The gratuity was rather from the States to the United States, in consenting to mortgage their property, to pay debts which had been contracted for the party that was made the Agent and Trustee of the public domain, if, indeed, it is proper to *erect* two such parties in the case. But we admit and maintain, that, in many important respects, regarding public policy, the States are *merged* in the United States, as parts of a whole, and that the interests of the former can not be easily separated from those of the latter, nor those of the latter from those of the former. The States were magnanimous, and consulted the general welfare, in putting the public domain in charge of the *United States*, when the country was in such straits; and for these reasons of a generous and noble character, they were and *are* entitled to equally generous, certainly to *fair* treatment from the other side.

#### § 10. *A great Sacrifice made by the States for the general Good.*

The Articles of Confederation proved totally inadequate for the necessities of the country, especially in regard to the power of raising revenue, which is the life of any government. With a public debt of nearly *eighty millions*, and a revenue of less than *two millions and a half*, what was to be done? It was in these straits that the reorganization of the General Government was conceived, and the Constitution of the United States was adopted, to get out of these difficulties. In the consummation of this great work, the States were called upon to sacrifice all their power of raising revenue by imposts, and to fall back on their internal resources and direct taxation, for all the necessities of their respective commonwealths. It was a great demand, certainly; but they generously, magnanimously made the sacrifice, for the general good, and deprived themselves forever of this important, it might be called indispensable power of political sovereignties. Had they not known, that the public lands were theirs, subject only to the debts of the United States then existing, would they, *could* they, in safety and common prudence, have done this?—Never. But it *was* done—done in good faith—done for the public weal, from the most patriotic motives, and the States were left to get along as they could, till the lien of the public debt on the public lands should be worked off through the agency of the General Government. Give back to the States this power of raising revenue by imposts, which was so nobly resigned by them to the United States, and Pennsylvania, with the customs of Philadelphia, and of her other entrepôts in her hand, might laugh at her debt of *forty millions*. Every indebted State of the Union could relieve itself at once, and the non-indebted States might enter on magnificent schemes of internal improvement. But what would become of the *United States*?—The Union would be dissolved, because it could not subsist without this power. The States might justly claim a *consideration* for the resignation of it; but they modestly ask only that which *was* their own, and *is* their own.

#### § 11. *Another Sacrifice.*

Patiently the States waited for the liquidation of the public debt, when, in 1812, while the debt was yet considerable, we were overtaken with the second war with Great Britain, and

came out of it with a debt of \$168,000,000. Though the public lands were not liable for this new debt, still the States generously allowed the proceeds of their own property to be applied to its extinguishment, and it was not till 1836, that the first dividend was awarded in the shape of a *deposite* of surplus revenue from the National Treasury, the States being held liable to Treasury warrants at any time for its repayment!

### § 12. *Early Views of the Government as to the legitimate Source of Federal Revenue.*

It will be found by an examination of the Journals of the old Congress, while the Deeds of Cession of the public lands from the States were going on, that the lands were not looked to as a source of revenue for the *ordinary* purposes of the Government, but that the most strenuous efforts were made to mature and establish a revenue system by imposts, adequate, not only for current expenses, but to pay the interest and principal of the public debt. (See Ho. Doc. 296, 3d sess., 27th Cong., p. 177, and onward.) These efforts were continued, till the consummation of the plan in the adoption of the Constitution, the powers of which were supposed and intended to answer this purpose. They are doubtless ample. Not a word is said, not a symptom is manifested, in this early history of the Government—burdened as it was with debt, slender as was its revenue—not a word of reliance on the public lands to answer the permanent necessities of the Federal authorities. Nothing can be stronger than this negative evidence, to show the true position which the public lands occupied in the public mind of that period—that they were not regarded as the property of the nation, and could never be legitimately relied upon for the ordinary purposes of Federal revenue.

### § 13. *General Jackson's Opinion on Distribution.*

In his first Message, 1829, after alluding to the different opinions on internal improvement by the General Government, but acknowledging its importance, he says: "To avoid these evils, it appears to me, that the most safe, just, and federal disposition which could be made of the surplus revenue, would be its apportionment among the several States, according to their ratio of representation."

In the annual message of 1830, speaking of internal improvement, and of distributing surplus funds among the States for that object, he says:—

"That the plan under consideration would derive important advantages from its certainty, and that the moneys set apart for these purposes would be more judiciously applied, and economically expended, under the direction of the State Legislatures, in which every part of each State is immediately represented, can not, I think, be doubted." Again: "Each State would receive its quota of the national revenue from a fixed principle, *as a matter of right, and from a fund to which it had itself contributed its fair proportion.*"

In the message of December, 1832, he says:—

"Among the interests which merit the consideration of Congress, after the payment of the public debt, one of the most important, in my view, is that of the *public lands*. Previous to the formation of our present Constitution, it was recommended by Congress, that a portion of the waste lands owned by the States, should be ceded to the United States, *for the purposes of general harmony, and as a fund to meet the expenses of the war*. The recommendation was adopted, and at different periods of time, the States of Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, granted their vacant soil for the uses for which they had been asked. *As the lands may now be considered as relieved from this pledge, the object for which they were ceded having been accomplished*, it is in the discretion of Congress to dispose of them in such way as best to conduce to the quiet, harmony, and general interest of the American people." . . . "It seems to me to be our true policy, that the public lands shall cease, as soon as practicable, to be a source of revenue."

We have not been accustomed to regard General Jackson as *openly* recognising the right of the States to the proceeds of the public lands; but we think he has hit the main and most important *historical* points in the above cited passages, although he may have avoided the conclusions to which they tend. Inadvertently, or otherwise, he has, with equal simplicity and truth, recognised the facts, that these lands were "*owned by the States*," when the cession was proposed by the United States; that the *object* of the recommendation was "for general harmony, and as a fund to meet the expenses of the war;" that the cessions were made "for the uses for which they had been asked;" that a time had arrived, when these lands were "*relieved from the pledge*" of cession, "*the object for which they were ceded having been accomplished*;" that the States would receive their respective "*quotas of national revenue, as a matter of right*," &c. It was difficult to go into this subject historically, and not bring out the truth—difficult not to have some sound reflections upon it, if it were touched at all. We are perfectly satisfied with what General Jackson has proved, and with his opinion, that "the public lands, as soon as practicable, should cease to be a source of revenue" to the General Government.

### § 14. *Mr. Van Buren's Opinion.*

"When we can find this gentleman in the right place, we like to hold him there, *if possible*." In 1826, Mr. Van Buren said:—

"No man could render the country a greater service, than he who should devise some plan, by which the United States might be relieved from the ownership of this property" (the public lands).

"by some equitable manner. He believed that if these lands were disposed of at once to the several States, it would be satisfactory to all."

In his letter to Sherrod Williams, 1836, in which he declares his opposition to the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands among the States, is the following remarkable passage:—

"In respect to the public lands, I need only observe, that I regard the public domain as a *trust fund, belonging to all the States, to be disposed of for their common benefit*. Ample authority for that purpose is conferred on Congress, by an express provision of the Constitution."

To account for this passage in a document, which, in other particulars, makes a decided *set to against* Distribution, it is proper to observe, that it is quoted by Mr. Van Buren himself, from a former letter to his constituents in the State of New York, *apparently* for the purpose of satisfying those who agree with him, so far as this quotation from an old letter of his is concerned. Mr. Van Buren, as is partly suspected, has an eminent faculty of throwing out crumbs flavored for the tastes of all sorts of appetites.

### § 15. Mr. Calhoun's Proposal.

It is to cede all the public lands to the States in which they lie, and hold those States debtors to the national treasury for a price, a little more than nominal, to be fixed by law, and suited to the generosity of a parent towards a child. It assumes, that this property belongs to the nation, and not to the States, and that the new States have a natural right to their own soil. Of course, all the thirteen original States, and some others, would be cut off at once from their rights, and from all benefit, except so far as the national treasury might get something, an event not very certain, if the new and favored States should take it in their heads to repudiate, or ask to be discharged. Not to speak of the injustice, the *fraud* of such a measure towards the States which fought the battles of the Revolution, and which have ever been accustomed to think, that the public domain was one of the things bought with their blood and treasure, suppose the States so munificently endowed, at such vast expense of the old States, should at any time refuse to pay the *nominal* purchase-money—Who and what power is to collect it? And what would be the consequence of enforcing collection? The Nullifier might indeed be a *breeder* of nullification, and the feeling left behind by such a measure would be ill calculated to secure domestic harmony.

### § 16. Mr. Jefferson on Internal Improvement.

Mr. Jefferson, in his annual Message of 1806, after noticing the rapid liquidation of the public debt, and the prospect of surplus revenue not far ahead, says:—

"The question now comes forward—To what other object shall these surplusses" (anticipated) "be appropriated, and the whole surplus of imposts, after the entire discharge of the public debt, and during those intervals when the purposes of war would not call for them? *Shall we suppress imposts, and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures?* On a few articles of more general and more necessary use, the suppression will doubtless be right; but the great mass of the articles on which impost is paid, are foreign luxuries, purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them. Their patriotism would certainly prefer its continuance and application to the *great purposes of public education, roads, rivers, canals, and such other objects of public improvement*, as it may be thought proper to add to the constitutional enumeration of Federal powers. By these operations, new channels of communication will be opened between the States, the lines of separation will disappear, their interests will be identified, and their Union cemented by new and indissoluble ties."

It will be seen, that this plan of Mr. Jefferson, for the application of surplus funds, is more enlarged and more comprehensive, than has ever been proposed from the Executive Chair. As, in his opinion, it surpassed the powers of the Constitution, he earnestly proposed such alterations as might be required to embrace these objects. It will further be observed, that Mr. Jefferson appears here, not only as a staunch advocate of the doctrine of *protection* by a tariff of duties, but makes an appeal to the *patriotism* of those who pay duties on luxuries for that object, to make them satisfied with their continuance. [See Tract No. III., page 5, for further views of Mr. Jefferson on protection.]

### § 17. General Jackson on Internal Improvements.

In his annual Message of 1830, is the following passage, being part of a labored argument on the subject:—

"It may sometimes happen that the interests of particular States would not be deemed to coincide with the general interest, in relation to improvements within such States. But if the danger to be apprehended from this source is sufficient to require it, a discretion might be reserved to Congress to direct such improvements of a general character as the States concerned might not be disposed to unite in, and the application of the quotas of those States, under the restriction of confining to each State the expenditure of its appropriate quota. It may, however, be assumed as a safe general rule, that such improvements as serve to increase the prosperity of the respective States in which they are made, by giving new facilities to trade, and thereby augmenting the wealth and comfort of the inhabitants, constitute the surest mode of conferring permanent and substantial advantages upon the whole. The strength as well as the true glory of the Confederacy is founded on the prosperity and power of the several independent sovereignties of which it is composed, and the

certainly with which they can be brought into successful active co-operation through the agency of the Federal Government."

Nothing can be more manifest, from this and what we have before quoted, than, that General Jackson was a Land-Distribution and Internal Improvement man "*at heart*;" but Mr. Clay had taken the lead, and General Jackson was not a man to *follow*. He wanted to come at the same ends, by different routes; or he would follow up an endless labyrinth, instead of the open and public highway. That he favored Internal improvement and Distribution, no one can doubt. The above-cited passage, and other things of the kind in his messages, together with his almost recognition of the rights of the States in the public domain, as before shown, in our opinion, had more influence in securing his second election, than has usually been supposed. These two great objects have ever been popular, when put to a fair and unembarrassed issue. Internal Improvement was arrested only by the *regal* power of the Constitution, the Veto, when the voice of the nation, of the people, of the democracy, was in its favor; and the Distribution policy has never been put to the test in the *democratic* branch of the Government, that is, in Congress, but that a large majority has uniformly sustained it. If we are rightly informed, the Legislatures of *twenty-two*, out of twenty-six States, have formally addressed Congress, or otherwise instituted action, in favor of it. Kingly power alone, in defiance of the popular will, has obstructed these great measures, for the largest part of one entire generation.

### § 18. *The Extent and Value of the Public Domain.*

The public lands unsold on the 31st of October, 1843, as certified by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, were 1,042,731,765 acres, which, at the minimum price fixed by law, would amount to 1,303,414,706 (*one billion, three hundred and three millions, four hundred and fourteen thousand, seven hundred and six dollars.*) [See Ho. Doc. 296, 3d sess., 27th Cong., page 238.]

### § 19. *Apportionment of the Value of the Public Lands to the States and Territories, estimated according to the present Federal Representation.*

If we apportion the above sum of \$1,303,414,706, the estimated value of the public lands, to the States and Territories, according to their right of representation in Congress, allowing one representative to the District of Columbia, the respective amounts which each State and Territory would be entitled to, will be as follows:—

Maine will be entitled to.....	\$42,045,635	Kentucky.....	\$56,060,847
New Hampshire.....	28,030,423	Tennessee.....	60,732,584
Massachusetts.....	56,060,847	Ohio.....	107,449,957
Rhode Island.....	18,686,949	Louisiana.....	28,030,423
Connecticut.....	28,030,423	Indiana.....	56,060,847
Vermont.....	28,030,423	Mississippi.....	28,030,423
New York.....	168,182,542	Illinois.....	42,045,635
New Jersey.....	32,702,161	Alabama.....	42,045,635
Pennsylvania.....	121,465,169	Missouri.....	32,702,161
Delaware.....	14,015,211	Arkansas.....	14,015,211
Maryland.....	37,373,898	Michigan.....	23,358,686
Virginia.....	79,419,534	Florida Territory.....	4,671,737
North Carolina.....	51,389,110	Wisconsin ".....	4,671,737
South Carolina.....	42,045,635	Iowa ".....	4,671,737
Georgia.....	46,717,372	District of Columbia.....	4,671,734

The cents and smaller fractions are dropped in this copy, which would make the footing a trifle less than the aggregate from which the apportionment is made.

### § 20. *Average Annual Proceeds of the Land Sales.*

The average annual and net proceeds of the sales of the public lands, from 1830 to 1840, inclusive, eleven years, were \$6,964,459, those of the whole period being \$76,609,059; as appears from the Treasury accounts. In the former part of this period, the increase of the sales was gradual, and may be considered healthful. About the middle of it, they rose to an unprecedented and unnatural amount, the proceeds of 1835 being \$14,757,600, and those of 1836, \$24,641,979, from which time they gradually fell off, till, in 1840, they had sunk to \$3,292,220, having started, in 1830, at \$2,329,356. The disastrous history of the twelve years Destructive Dynasty, which first inflated and then destroyed general credit, will account for this. As the land sales from 1828 to 1831 were considered moderate, showing an average annual increase of 23 per cent., as appears by Mr. Clay's report to the Senate in 1832, that is, more than doubling every five years, it may perhaps be assumed that the average annual proceeds, from 1830 to 1840, as above stated, are not very much, if at all, in excess of a natural and prosperous state of things, at the present period of our history, under a good

administration of the Government. Doubling the income every five years on \$2,329,356, which were the net proceeds of 1830, those of 1840 would have been \$9,317,424. As the annual sales are now gradually increasing again, it can hardly be many years, if the country should recover its fair condition of prosperity, before the proceeds from sales of the public lands will rise to *ten millions* a year. Be it more or less, *five*, or *seven*, or *ten millions*, it can not fail to be a very handsome and convenient sum, annually increasing, to be distributed among the States, according to their Federal representation. Assuming either of these, or any other given amount of annual proceeds, with a table showing the representation in Congress, to which each state is entitled, Senators included, it will be easy for any person to work out the respective annual distributions among the States, if the General Government shall finally award to them their just claims. When the proceeds shall be *eight millions* a year, the distribution for such year will be as follows:—

Maine.....	\$257,706	Kentucky.....	\$344,086
New Hampshire.....	172,040	Tennessee.....	372,759
Massachusetts.....	344,086	Ohio.....	659,498
Rhode Island.....	118,279	Louisiana.....	172,040
Connecticut.....	172,040	Indiana.....	344,086
Vermont.....	172,040	Mississippi.....	172,040
New York.....	1,032,258	Illinois.....	257,706
New Jersey.....	200,716	Alabama.....	257,706
Pennsylvania.....	741,936	Missouri.....	200,716
Delaware.....	86,021	Arkansas.....	86,021
Maryland.....	229,356	Michigan.....	143,369
Virginia.....	487,455	Florida.....	28,673
North Carolina.....	315,412	Wisconsin.....	28,673
South Carolina.....	257,706	Iowa.....	28,673
Georgia.....	286,738	District of Columbia.....	28,673

When the annual proceeds shall rise to *sixteen millions*—they have been over *twenty-four millions*—double the above apportionments respectively, and they will be the quotas of distribution.

### § 21. Debts of the States.

In a report of the Secretary of the Treasury to Congress, 1842, compiled from official returns he had been instructed to invite, we have the following statement:—

Maine (indebted).....	\$1,734,861	Florida.....	\$4,000,000
Massachusetts.....	5,424,137	Tennessee.....	3,189,166
Pennsylvania.....	36,336,044	Kentucky.....	3,085,500
New York.....	21,797,267	Michigan.....	5,611,000
Maryland.....	15,214,761	Ohio.....	10,924,123
Virginia.....	6,994,307	Indiana.....	12,751,000
South Carolina.....	5,691,234	Illinois.....	13,627,292
Georgia.....	1,309,750	Missouri.....	842,261
Alabama.....	15,400,060	District of Columbia.....	1,316,030
Louisiana.....	23,985,000	To these may be added,	
Mississippi.....	7,000,000	North Carolina.....	1,050,000
Arkansas.....	2,676,000		

The sum of these debts is a small fraction less than *two hundred millions*. In the lapse of two years some of them have been increased, some diminished, and others more correctly ascertained; but the sum total is supposed not to vary much from \$200,000,000. Most of them having been contracted for internal improvements, there is of course, to some extent, a *quid pro quo* in the hands of these States. The public works of the State of New York, for example, are much more than a balance for her indebtedness, and abundantly capable of liquidating the debt. Those of Pennsylvania will pay a part of the interest, and several of the States are able, not only to provide for the interest, but to manage the principal, though in most cases burdensome, while others do not, and a few can not pay even the interest. The spectacle, as a whole, presents a great and difficult political problem, in the question, *How are these debts to be got rid of?* The country can never be restored to a prosperous condition till this problem is solved.

### § 22. Who plunged the indebted States into these Difficulties?

We aver that it was done, and all done, by the action of the General Government. 1. By withholding from them the proceeds of the public lands since they became due, on the conditions of the trust. In House Document 296, 3d session, 27th Congress, pages 475 and 476, it is shown, from the books of the General Land Office, that the amount of proceeds



due to the States, Sept. 30, 1840, on account of the public lands, in the faithful execution of the trust, was \$142,018,766. This alone, distributed according to Federal representation, would have rescued the indebted States from all their embarrassments. 2. By instability of national policy, legislation, and government. It can not be denied that General Jackson was in favor of internal improvements, and that he proposed and recommended to supply the States with funds out of the national Treasury for that object. See the passage we have already cited from his Message of 1830, and other like things in his official documents. Observe his order to loan the Deposites. The announced policy of the Government at that time, as well as its acts, stimulated credit and enterprise in the States and everywhere. The projects of the States for internal improvement, were first suggested and prompted, and were fully authorized, by the General Government, and that Government proposed to supply the funds. Contemporaneously, Senator Wright said in his place, that "he was not afraid to recommend such an investment of the national funds, as the States would issue as many bonds as the Government might choose to buy." Verily, was not all this *prompting, and a sufficient warrant*? The States, instead of acting rashly, only conformed to the *leadings* of the General Government. But, as we all know, by sad experience, the General Government did not persevere in this policy, but, after having *seduced* the States into these projects and great expenditures, and tempted the whole country to extravagant enterprise, it turned short about, upset the States, upset the nation, upset everything! Who, then, we ask, is responsible for this wide-spread ruin, these frightful and long-protracted calamities of a great nation?

In coincidence with these suggestions, observe the history of the State debts. In 1830, when President Jackson so fully propounded his scheme of internal improvement by setting the States to work, and supplying them with funds out of the national Treasury, the whole amount of the State debts was only \$6,976,689; while the increase from 1830 to 1840, under the stimulus of these encouragements, amounted to \$178,409,084! of which \$87,366,010 took place in the defaulting States. [House Doc. 296, 3d sess., 27th Cong., page 47.]

### § 23. *What, therefore, is due to the States.*

We will not pretend to say what *else* ought to be done in such a case, but we think the States, and the people of the States, will expect and *require* that the original covenant between the States and the United States, respecting the public lands, should now be "*faithfully and bona fide*" executed. So zealous, so intent, so emphatic, were the parties of one part, in respect to the importance and *sacredness* of this compact, that they were not content with the qualifying word "*faithfully*," to express its obligations, but they put in the still stronger words, "*bona fide*," in *good faith*. If it were possible for any one to doubt the character of this instrument as a *trust*, by the terms in which it is constructed, we have the opinion of the Chief Justice of the United States, John Marshall, before cited, acting in his high judicial capacity, himself bearing testimony to its very special importance as *such*. Since, then, the case is so; since the States, in the adoption of the Constitution, resigned forever their power over revenue by imposts; since they acquired their title to the public domain by their own blood and treasure, while acting as independent sovereignties, under the Articles of Confederation; since, for purposes of harmony and general good, and in all good faith, they put this great estate in the hands of a common *trustee*, composed of representatives from themselves, acting under their authority; since the conditions of that trust, in giving its avails another direction than to the hands of the original parties, have long since been fulfilled, imposing the duty of rendering the proceeds of the property to its rightful owners; since the Government of the United States, by its own action, *invited* the States into expensive projects of internal improvement, more beneficial to the Union than to the States themselves, promising the States, or giving them good reason to expect, the aid of the public funds, it *can not* be deemed unreasonable, that the States should require and *demand* what is their *own*, to help themselves out of the difficulties in which the General Government has involved them by a violation of its faith. No favor is asked. It is simple *JUSTICE*.

### § 24. *The Prospect of a Surplus National Revenue.*

The Tariff of 1842 is doing wonders for us, and under the present rate of its operation in the increased production of revenue, we shall soon have another surplus in the national Treasury. The annual revenue is more than doubled by this measure. The protection given to our labor, industry, and productions, has relieved the country suddenly, and restored it to a condition of *comparative* prosperity, though it will take years, under this same beneficent Act, to get back to the place from which we were cast down by the Destructive Dynasty.

Suppose, then, that we go on under the present Tariff, it would not be strange, with a realization of present prospects, if, in *five* years, we should be able to spare from the national Treasury to the States, from imposts alone, *twice* as much as was voted in 1836. The amount of that, as determined by the Act, though it was not all realized, was \$37,463,850.

Double of this would be \$74,937,718. We take this sum, merely because it is more convenient to make out an apportionment, by doubling one already made to our hand for the half of it. To avail ourselves of this, however, we are forced to assume, as a rule of distribution, the Electoral Colleges of the period from 1830 to 1840. The distribution, by this rule, would be as follows :—

Maine .....	\$2,548,902	South Carolina.....	\$2,803,792
New Hampshire.....	1,784,230	Georgia.....	2,803,792
Massachusetts.....	3,568,462	Alabama.....	1,784,230
Rhode Island.....	1,019,560	Mississippi.....	1,019,560
Vermont.....	1,784,230	Louisiana.....	1,274,450
Connecticut.....	2,039,120	Missouri.....	1,019,560
New York.....	10,705,388	Kentucky.....	3,823,352
New Jersey.....	2,039,120	Tennessee.....	3,823,352
Pennsylvania.....	7,646,706	Ohio.....	5,352,694
Delaware.....	764,670	Indiana.....	2,294,010
Maryland.....	2,548,902	Illinois.....	1,274,450
Virginia.....	5,862,474	Arkansas.....	764,670
North Carolina.....	3,823,352	Michigan.....	764,670

Adopting the present Federal representation as the rule of distribution, this apportionment would vary somewhat. The quotas of Pennsylvania, and of some other States, would be increased, some would be diminished, and the relative proportions in a slight degree changed. It will be obvious, that the Territories should come in for a share. The object of this exhibit is merely to give a notion of something *like* what may be reasonably expected, from time to time, as occasion may require, provided we can once obtain a good government, maintain a suitable Tariff, and fully restore the prosperity of the country. This is no dream, but founded on the history of the past. Under a Tariff adequate to a fair protection of the interests of the country—fair as doing *relative* as well as *positive* justice—we could not fail soon to have a large annual surplus from the impost revenue and land fund, sufficient to answer all the purposes of the present public debt, if it be proper to call the State debts public. The reasons why these debts are proper to be considered in our national policy, are, *first*, because they affect our national interests, and can not be separated from them; *next*, because the General Government is bound by compact, as "Trustee, to administer the estate of the public lands for the "sole use and benefit of the States, faithfully and bona fide," since the lands are "relieved," as General Jackson says, "from the original pledge;" *thirdly*, because many of the States require the relief which such an administration of the lands would give them; *fourthly*, because all the States would be benefited; and, *fifthly*, because the *United States* would be equally benefited. The States, even the most indebted, have no occasion to ask what is not due to them.

It is quite immaterial, however, whether the distribution be made on Mr. Jefferson's and General Jackson's principle of *expediency*, for national objects, or as a debt due the States on account of public lands. We have seen there is a balance yet behind of *one hundred and forty-two millions*, which, together with those annually accruing, will abundantly answer all the necessities of the States.

#### § 25. *The great National Objects to be promoted by Distribution.*

Jefferson and Jackson, in the documents already referred to, have reasoned this matter out so well, that little is left for others to do. It is true they did not base their argument so much on the *right* of the States to the proceeds of the public domain, as on the *expediency* of the measure they proposed for great national objects; and professing to have scruples, and to respect the scruples of others, on the Constitutional question of Internal improvements, on such a large scale, by the General Government, they proposed to travel *round* this difficulty, and accomplish the same great and important end—Jefferson, by amending the Constitution, and Jackson by setting the States to work, and endowing them with the surplus funds of the national Treasury for that object. Now, it happens, that much of this work is already done by the indebted States, which has been the occasion of their debts. Acknowledge their claim to the proceeds of the public lands, in the past and in the future, and let them be distributed, and these debts will be provided for, while the non-indebted States will doubtless use their respective quotas, for the most part, in promoting the same great national objects. They have only to follow out the hints given in General Jackson's Message of 1830. The work is there projected. And they would most naturally do it; for as General Jackson says: It may be safely assumed, that the public works which are best for the States, will be best for the Union.

#### § 26. *The probable Effect of Distribution on Public Credit.*

The whole world is watching to see, whether the General Government will *relieve* the States, and nothing is required but to give the States their own. As things now are, as they

were fixed by the twelve years' Destructive Dynasty, and finally sealed by the present Chief Magistrate, in his Veto on the first Tariff bill of 1841, notwithstanding that he strongly recommended Distribution in his message, the indebted States are prostrate, and some of them can never rise again, without help from some quarter. It is *known*, that such is their helpless condition. Nobody expects they will ever be able to pay, without the proceeds of the public lands. But secure to them this *RIGHT*, of which they have so long been wrongfully deprived, and the *VERY NEXT HOUR* their credit would spring up from the grave, in which it has been rotting, and the world, which has assumed to rebuke and reproach them, as is always the fate of insolvent debtors, would take them again to the arms of its confidence and affection.

We know that the present proceeds of the public lands will not be a full relief, "*per se*," to the States which are most indebted; but it will be *some* help, and that will be augmenting every year. Their greatest need, in the present juncture, is a *foundation and warrant of credit*. Settle the land question, as justice requires, ordain a distribution of the annual proceeds among the States, according to their Federal representation, fix it so that the public, the world, may *rely* upon it, as an arrangement not to be disturbed, and it is a sufficient foundation for all the credit that is required, and many times more. Not only so, but it would probably enable the indebted States to fund their obligations, so far as occasion should require, for one half the interest they are now charged. The indebted States, the other States, the whole Union, would spring to their feet again, go to work with the joy of hope, and the world would smile on our prosperity, and confide in it.

#### § 27. *There is now no Apology for not doing it.*

The Tariff of 1842 is pouring into the national Treasury more money than is wanted, and if it is permitted to continue, it will not be long, so far as the ordinary expenditures of the Government are concerned, before we shall have a *surplus* in the Treasury. That will not be a bad time to begin to pay the *one hundred and forty-two millions* due to the States, before noticed, as a balance *accrued* on account of the public lands. Then the indebted States might *pay up*, sustain and perfect their public works, and the *non-indebted* States might cross their territories with canals and railroads, as might be judged expedient. The remarks of General Jackson, as cited by us, page 7, section 17, are pertinent to this point. General Jackson was there proposing to appropriate funds out of the national Treasury for this object, and to constitute the States as *agents* to carry the plan into effect. It was very well said. We are glad to embrace such reasoning, coming from such a quarter, believing, that it is as well entitled to have weight with us, as with the somewhat warmer and more unqualified friends of General Jackson. On this platform, we would most heartily co-operate with those, who claim to be "*State-Rights Men*," and who have wasted as much declamation upon this topic, as they have on "*Democracy*," as if born to the name, at the same time that they have been doing *all they could to destroy* the States, as to their power and independence, and to build up and fortify a *regal* power in the White House, at the expense and with the sacrifice of true republicanism. We go for "*State-Rights*," in the *rights* of the States, and that is what we understand by it. We go for the *practical*, not for the *abstract*—for the *real*, not for the *visionary*. He who denies to the States the *right* to the proceeds of the public domain, we will *never* allow to be a "*State-Rights*" man. It is a contradiction in terms. The whole and inevitable tendency of the Anti-Distribution policy, is, to *concentrate power*, to *cripple* the States, and to fortify the Federal arm in acts of oppression and violence. This is one form of *Federalism*, and such are *FEDERALISTS*. [See Tract No. VI., on Democracy.]

#### § 28. *The Effect of Distribution on the Sales.*

We assume, after what has been said, that Distribution is indispensable to the complete restoration of State and national prosperity. The indebted States can never rise without it; the others will feel the effect of the embarrassment or bankruptcy of their neighbors; and the States, in this position, will hang like a mill-stone on the neck of the United States. Consequently, this state of things, so long as it lasts, will be a great check to that spirit of enterprise, which is required for the purchase and occupancy of the vacant lands. In addition to this, and a greater obstacle still, the more desirable unoccupied lands lie in States most oppressed with debt, and few people will go where they will be liable to such a heavy burden of taxation. But take away these obstacles by Distribution, and the sales will increase with great rapidity, with the revival of general credit, and the credit of the States where the unoccupied lands are situated. Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, must inevitably remain very nearly in *status quo*, while unrelieved by Distribution; but give them this, and they would spring forward in a new and rapid career at once. The same may be said of other western States, and of the Territories. The consequence of this would be a rapid increase of the proceeds of the sales, and of the benefits to the States to be derived therefrom.

### § 29. *The effect of Non-Distribution on Legislation.*

So long as reliance is placed on the proceeds of the public lands as a part of the national revenue, so long will the Tariff regulations be *fluctuating*, than which, a greater commercial evil could scarcely be entailed on the country. The annual net proceeds from the sale of public lands, between 1830 and 1840, ranged from *three* millions to *twenty-four* millions. The operation of the Tariff of 1842, shows, that the proceeds of the lands will not be wanted by the General Government, so long as this Tariff lasts, and that there will soon be a surplus in the Treasury from the Tariff alone. Distribution, therefore, is now demanded, as well for the **STABILITY** of our Tariff regulations, as for reasons before given.

### § 30. *The Attempt to Repeal the Distribution Act of 1841.*

It is true, that Mr. Tyler's Veto of the first Tariff bill of 1841, rendered that Act inoperative for the present. Nevertheless, it remained a law, and only required the repeal of the restrictive clause, to give it immediate, permanent, and full effect, for *five* years, except in case of war; and the effect of this exception would tend very much to prevent war. But the wanton attack, made by the House of Representatives of the present (28th) Congress, on the Distribution law of 1841, and the fury with which they carried the repeal bill through that body the very day it was reported, by a strong party vote, under the previous question, evinces the deadly hostility of that party to such a measure, and their determination, that it shall never stand or be a law. Though no observing man doubted their sentiments before, yet this decided action shows the country what may be expected from that party on Distribution, as well as on the Tariff, both of which they are resolved to crush.

### § 31. *The Purchased Lands.*

It is true, that all the territories falling under the purchases of Louisiana and the Floridas, have been acquired as the property of the United States in their federal capacity. The principles of Mr. Jefferson and General Jackson, however, as recognised in these pages, are sufficiently broad and comprehensive, if they should be approved, to answer all the purposes of the States, in the existence of surplus funds in the national Treasury, which is sure to result from a good Government, except as it may be interrupted by the expenses of war. It will only be necessary to apply that power of the Constitution, Article IV., Sec. 3, which Mr. Van Buren, in his letter to Sherrod Williams, calls "*an express provision*,"—"ample authority," and which reads as follows:—"Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the *territory*, or other property, belonging to the United States," &c.

### § 32. *Alleged or Supposed Conflicting Interests of New States with Old States.*

It is fortunate that the time is nearly, if not quite gone by, when some effect could be produced by telling the new States, "*Claim the public lands in your own limits, and you can get them.*" This, certainly, could not easily be shown to be a very *honest* recommendation. Since, however, this seductive bait was thrown out in the "counter report" to the Senate, on the public lands, in 1832, and industriously propagated in other forms, it has been discovered by the new States, that a joint interest with all the other States, in a public domain of more than a **BILLION** of acres, is a richer inheritance than all they can find of public lands in their own bounds. Possibly, there may be two or three States that would like to have all those parts of the public domain which lie in their respective jurisdictions; but we doubt, whether any would be very fierce for it, when, by seizing upon or accepting it, they sacrifice all right and claim in the public lands *exterior* to themselves. They know, that the General Government has been generous to them, in its grants and bonuses for a variety of objects and considerations, and they have ceased to be influenced by another suggestion thrown out in the "counter report" of 1832, viz: that all the money paid for public lands is *drawn* from the States in which the purchased territory lies. It is seen, that the money, so applied, comes from *other* quarters, does not belong to the new States, and was *never there*, till carried by immigrants, and a part of it is disbursed on the spot by the expenses of the land offices. There is an *acquisition* in all such cases to the wealth of the new States, by the introduction of additional power to produce it; but nothing belonging there is taken away. Immigrants also, for the most part, have money left, after paying for their lands. The older States may be injured by the loss of their inhabitants and *labor* power, and to some extent are so. The money, of course, is drawn from those States which the immigrants came from, and is scattered over the Union. In 1832, it was stated, in a report to the Senate, that the greatest emigration was from the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The fear of collision, therefore, between the new States and the old, on this account, has chiefly subsided, as every new State almost instantly becomes an *old* one, as to its interest in the public domain.

Mr. Clay, in his speech on the public lands, 1832, after having alluded to the *concessions* of the new States as to the rights of all the States over the public domain, by the action of the former in various modes, says:—"The existence of the new States is a falsehood, or the right

of all the States to the public domain is an undeniable truth. They" (the new States) "have no more right to the public lands within their particular jurisdiction, than other States have to the mint, the forts and arsenals, or public ships within theirs, or than the people of the District of Columbia have to this magnificent Capitol, in whose splendid halls we now deliberate."

Mr. Clay concludes this speech as follows:—"Among the ties which bind us together, the public domain merits high consideration. And if we appropriate, for a limited time, the proceeds of that great resource, among the several States, for the important objects which have been enumerated, a new and powerful bond of affection and of interest will be added. The States will feel and recognise the operation of the General Government, not merely in power and burdens, but in benefactions and blessings. And the General Government in its turn, will feel, from the expenditure of the money which it dispenses to the States, the benefits of moral and intellectual improvement of the people, of greater facility in social and commercial intercourse, and of the purification of the population of our country, themselves the best parental sources of national character, national union, and national greatness. Whatever may be the fate of the particular proposition now under consideration, I sincerely hope that the attention of the nation may be attracted to this most interesting subject; that it may justly appreciate the value of this immense national property; and that, preserving the regulation of it by the will of the whole, for the advantage of the whole, it may be transmitted, as a sacred and inestimable succession, to posterity, for its benefit and blessing for ages to come."

### § 33. Federal Power as opposed to State Rights.

It will be seen, that, never, in the history of this country, has so flagrant a violation of the rights of the States been planned and systematically carried on, as in the attempt of the Federal Government, for a long course of years, to rob the States of their interest in the public lands. Every possible artifice to conceal the truth, or to obscure, mystify, and cloud what could not be concealed, and every muscle of the Federal arm, has been employed to defraud the original parties that created this republic, of the rich inheritance which they purchased with their blood and treasure: as if it were not enough for the States to give up the right of raising revenue by imposts, but advantage is taken of a *sacred trust*, to deprive them of their last and only heritage for sustaining their political powers. Prompted by the Federal authorities, they have done the work of those authorities, and then, when they have need of the wherewithal to pay for it, they only ask the proceeds of their own estate, and it is refused! As if it were not enough to rob, the insatiate appetite calls for the blood of its victims! The unnatural parent strangles her own children! Does not every one know, that the States can not subsist, unless they are relieved? And what power stands in the way of their relief, but the Federal Government? And by what means is it done, but by wrong? Have we not reason to fear a power, that is so fraudulently, so oppressively, so tyrannically exercised—whose tender mercies are cruelty? Crying "*State Rights*," they rob the States of their *dearest* rights! Preaching "*Democracy*," they wield the most hateful power of kings! It was by the munificence of the States, that the Federal Government was enabled to stand, and the prodigal gifts, bestowed in the form of a *trust*, are employed to crush the givers!

### § 34. The Unity of the Union.

One would think, that they who deal in *abstractions*, had discovered at last, how every State of this Union can be utterly ruined, and the *United States* be in a prosperous condition—that just in proportion as the States are in debt, in trouble, and perishing, the *United States* are enriched, happy, and farther removed from danger! How is it possible otherwise to account for their persistence in an apparent determination to *crush* the States, by an obstinate refusal to consider their helpless condition, and do an act of simple justice? But the fact is, and must necessarily be so, that the non-indebted States sympathize, politically and commercially, with the distressed condition of the indebted States, and this effect is unavoidable, by the nature of their alliance and companionship. If one suffers, all suffer: They are all at sea in the same boat, and if half go down, they must all go, unless, peradventure, the stronger shall throw the weaker overboard, and even then it would be difficult to cut the ties which bind them together. And what is this thing called the *United States*, that it should lift up its head on high, take on itself such airs of independence, mock at the misery with which it is surrounded, and think itself not at all concerned in it?—Has it never considered, that it is only a head, resting on the shoulders of a body?—that it partakes of the same vitality, is nourished by the same aliments, breathes the same air, in the use of common organs, and is nothing, and can do nothing, without the body?—that its pride, glory, and power, are sustained, and its purse supplied, by the hands and arms, the muscles and sinews, on which it looks down?—that in the pains of the body, itself must suffer, and if the body dies, itself will die? That abstraction of mind, which revels in dreams and visions, may do very well for a philosopher in his closet, who chooses to have nothing to do with the world, and who could blame nobody else, and possibly might hurt nobody else, if, in some fatal ex-

periment, he should blow himself up there. But, to sever a head from a trunk, without harm, is a nicer operation than surgical skill has yet attained to. But, this thing, called the *United States*, seems to think it possible for the head to live *independent* of the body!

### § 35. *A blind and heartless National Policy.*

Nothing could be more stolid, than that Federal policy, which sets up the theory, and acts on it, that the Federal Government has nothing to do, but to take care of itself. It is alike unpatriotic and reasonable to a high, most responsible, and vastly comprehensive trust. They who separate the interests of the Union from those of the States, undertake to perform a miracle; and those in power, who say, let the people take care of themselves, and the Government will take care of itself, are Sub-treasury men, and fit only for a despotism. They have no heart, and no sympathy for the common lot of mankind. Most of all are they unfit for a democratic state of society, and most unfriendly to it.

### § 36. *The Principle of Sub-Treasury.*

That is what holds on so tightly to the public lands as Federal property. It seeks, in all manner of forms, to strengthen Federal power, at the expense of the States, and to the injury of all minor interests. The earliest and most remarkable instance of *Sub-treasury* in history, and the most graphic picture of the system, is found in the 47th chapter of Genesis, from the 15th to the 26th verses, under which the treasury of Pharaoh first swallowed up all the money of the people; next, their cattle were taken; then, their lands; and last of all, they sold themselves into perpetual bondage, to render to Pharaoh, in perpetuity, *one fifth* of the products of their labor; and they remained in slavery for ever afterward. When Spain exhausted the mines of South America, and in the end drew forth more than a *thousand millions* of bullion into the royal coffers, it was all done by *sub-treasurers*, while the people were taxed, worn out, and kept under. *Sub-treasurers* are always in favor of *direct* taxation, and that is the only way to maintain the system. Rome was free till the system of *sub-treasury* was introduced. So was it in Greece. So has it been in every country that has lost its freedom. The peculiarity of a *sub-treasury* system is, to separate the Government from the people, to raise it above them, to make it *independent*, and to make the people *dependent—slaves*. There is no sympathy between the parties, but a necessary and perpetual hostility of interests. The doctrine of true democracy is, that what is good enough for the people, is good enough for their governors; that the currency which will do for one party, must answer for the other; that *direct* taxation should be a last, and only a necessary resort; and that government has no rights except such as are derived from the people, and is set up to *serve* the people, not to be served by them.

### § 37. *The Obligations of Patriotism.*

We dislike to give a reason for doing an act of justice that is foreign to its claims. But here is the remarkable spectacle of a number of the States of this Union, with a mill-stone about their necks, tied on in the way and by an agency as we have described, hanging over an abyss, and if they fall in, are sure to carry with them all the other States and the United States. They can not be ruined alone, but will have companionship in their fall. When the States which were possessed of the public lands by charter rights, saw it was necessary to divide the interest with the other States, who were fighting side by side with them for freedom and for this great estate, and when they saw it was necessary to bind the sacrifice on the altar of the patriotism of that day, *they did so*, and left it in charge of the Agents of the Confederation, *pledged* to redeem the debts of the war, and then to be used for the common good of the parties, who carried the nation through the struggle by their joint efforts and sacrifices, and of such other members of the family as might come in afterward. It was a great, generous, noble, patriotic sacrifice—worthy of the men and of the time. After the war, as soon as the debts of the States and the nation could be conveniently ascertained, they were found to be about *eighty millions of dollars*, on about *three millions* of people, with an annual revenue from all quarters of less than *two millions and a half*! In this position of the Confederacy, the public lands, which had been so generously given up for this object, and only for this, were the pledge and anchor of public credit. But for this, there is reason to believe that the Republic, so loosely bound together, though victorious, would have been dissolved into worthless fragments. At the close of the second war with Great Britain, we shouldered a public debt of *one hundred and sixty-eight millions*, and paid it all off in *seventeen years*. But now, with no national debt worthy to speak of, with *eighteen millions* of people, with capabilities and resources unlimited, with from *thirty to forty millions* of revenue by imposts, with a land revenue, soon to rise perhaps to *ten millions*, and with an annual expense of Government not exceeding *twenty millions*, we dare not look in the face a debt of *some two hundred millions*, which happens to be saddled chiefly on about half of the States! Approach it we must, or it will come to us. There is no escape, nor should patriotism desire it. For the most part, we have had the *quid pro quo*, and are every day reaping the benefit

of it. This *quid pro quo*, take it as a whole, and properly used, is itself well nigh, if not quite, sufficient to pay the debt. So far as it consists in public improvements, the national benefit is incalculable, and the chief one. [See General Jackson's Message of 1830.] In a time of war, it might, and very probably would happen, that their worth for national uses, in the movements of armies, artillery, ammunition, and baggage, and in maintaining an easy and rapid communication between our public marine on the Atlantic and on the lakes and rivers, would exceed the entire cost of them all. But no matter for that. Their national value in a time of peace is immense. Nor is even this worthy of consideration, if we look at the justice of the claim. The public lands saved the nation once, and carried a far heavier, many times heavier debt, in proportion to our population and means, than that which they are now invoked to be pledged for; and it happens that they are the property of the present *debtors*; whereas, in the former case, the *owners*—now the *debtors* requiring relief, but still owners—freely gave them up, for a season, to pay the debts of *others*, and pledged them to the last farthing. The object was finally accomplished; but the Trustee, having taken a liking to the charge, chooses to hold on to it, and to use the avails by fraud, while the lawful proprietors are sinking under bankruptcy! Oh, patriotism! whither art thou fled?

### § 38. *The Discouraging and Ruinous Effect of Commercial Dishonor in a State or Nation.*

"Private credit is wealth; public honor is security. The feather that adorns the royal bird, secures him in his flight. Pluck him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth."

The plumes which the world had allowed to stand in our cap, and which the world had admired, have been plucked and trampled under foot. While other nations can borrow money at 3 per cent., a public agent of our Government returned from Europe a year ago, having been everywhere refused a loan at 6 per cent. No nation that has claimed and been permitted to stand up on a footing of equality with the family of nations, in honor, credit, influence, and power, can stand a repulse of this description. It is a blow that strikes all and everything that belongs to us. "It fixes us to the earth." Abroad, our citizens are forced to blush at what they see and hear. Once courted and cherished in foreign parts, they are now shunned, and the finger of scorn is pointed at them. At home we are ashamed, and filled with self-reproach. And what is the cause? IT IS BECAUSE OF THESE STATE DEBTS. State bonds have been *protested*, and some have been **REPUDIATED**, by State authorities!

Besides the mortification, the dishonor operates more to our commercial disadvantage as a nation, in a single year, than the whole amount of the debt. As it is with an individual who has lost his credit, so is it with a nation. Neither can trade, but with great sacrifice, directly and indirectly. In Senate Document, No. 340, 2d session, 27th Congress, it is shown, that our domestic trade amounts to \$2,000,000,000 (*two billions*) a year, and our foreign trade, including exports and imports, rarely falls below \$200,000,000. It is stated, in House Document No. 296, 3d session, 27th Congress, that at that time, we were losing, in prices and by a bad currency, an average of 20 per cent. on the whole of our trade. Abate this loss *fifty per cent.*, or one half, and can it be doubted that, in our peculiar position of bad credit, and in the embarrassments arising therefrom at home and abroad, the loss on the whole of our trade (\$2,200,000,000) would average 10 per cent.? If such be the fact, the entire loss amounts to *two hundred and twenty millions annually*, being *twenty millions* in excess of the whole amount of the State debts! In addition to this, we are paying 50 per cent. more interest on our debt, than would be demanded of us, if our credit were good, which is equal to a funded debt of a *hundred millions* at a fair per cent. There is yet another consideration in the decline of the value of all kinds of property, through which the country has passed, and which can hardly be estimated for the vastness of the amount. [See Tract No. II, page 16.] Such are the *commercial* disadvantages resulting from the dishonored credit of a nation.

### § 39. *Mr. Clay's and Mr. Van Buren's position in regard to Distribution.*

As certain as Mr. Clay is in favor of Distribution, so certain is it, that Mr. Van Buren would veto any measure of the kind, however strong and decided might be the wishes of the people, or the vote of Congress in its favor. The people of this country, therefore, who feel the importance of this great national measure, will be aware of the importance of their *vots* at the approaching Presidential Election. Nor is it less certain that the Tariff would be sacrificed by Mr. Van Buren and his party, if they should ever have it in their power. These two great and vital measures, on which hangs the weal or wo of this country, according as they shall be maintained or destroyed, are the great stake of the coming contest. Others of vast, and many of less importance, are also at stake; but none so momentous as these. The question before the nation, is—**SHALL THE LONG-PROTRACTED DESTRUCTIVE DYNASTY BE RESTORED, OR SHALL THE REPUBLIC BE SAVED?**

## EXTRACTS FROM NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

THE FOLLOWING are a few EXTRACTS from the numerous notices that have been given of the JUNIUS TRACTS by the public press:—

*From the New York Tribune.*

THE TEST.—“We are sure, that the Whigs of the Union will rejoice with us to learn, that JUNIUS, the able author of “*The Crisis of the Country*” and other powerful and convincing essays, widely circulated during the late Presidential contest, has, at the request of the Whig Members of the last Congress, resumed his labors in the same field, and will prepare a series of political pamphlets on the several chief topics in controversy between the rival parties, to be afforded at the lowest possible price for gratuitous circulation. The first is entitled THE TEST, or *Parties tried by their acts*. There is no other writer in the land who could have crowded so much matter into 16 pages.”

THE CURRENCY.—“This is an able and most forcible summary of the whole Currency controversy of the last twelve years, exhibiting the positions of the two parties, hitherto, now, and hereafter. As an argument for a National Currency, of Specie and Paper every where convertible into Specie, it has not been surpassed. It is admirable, especially for its power of condensation, and the vigorous simplicity with which the Whig views are presented.”

THE TARIFF.—“It is ably, closely, pithily written, and condenses a large amount of argument, fact, and apposite illustration, into the small compass of sixteen closely printed pages. It is so plain that no man can read without comprehending it; so forcible that none can understand without being impressed by it. This Tract ought to be, must be generally circulated.”

*From the National Intelligencer.*

“The Whigs of the Union will remember ‘*The Crisis of the Country, by Junius*,’ so extensively circulated in 1840, and will be glad to learn, that JUNIUS is in the field again for 1844, with the purpose of bringing out a series of Tracts on the leading questions in controversy between the two great parties. The amount of information embodied in 16 pages will surprise the reader. It comprehends volumes of facts, principally deduced from authentic public documents, evincing great and pertinent research. It is generally the kind of information, which the people most require. The facts will all be recognised; but, in the isolated forms in which the same facts have been presented to the public, their effect has been slight and evanescent. But in the manner of their grouping here, they are overwhelming for the object intended.”

*From the Albany Evening Journal.*

“This admirable and effective series of Tracts from ‘*Junius*,’ the ablest political writer of the day, are all of the same size, in 16 closely printed pages, costing only \$20 a thousand, or two cents a piece, prepared with great labor, expressly for distribution among the people. This mode of operation by Tracts, is a new system in politics, and may be made all powerful. Put facts before the people, such as Junius has collected and arranged, and they will prevail. We desire that the Whigs of this State, and of the Union, may be impressed with the importance of this new agency. We are told that not less than a million of ‘*The Crisis of the Country, by Junius*,’ were used in 1840, and their influence was prodigious. As it was chiefly made up of facts, it was used as a text-book by politicians and stump orators all over the land, at the same time that it was in the hands of the people.”

*From the New York Courier and Enquirer.*

“*Junius Redivivus* is out again in a way that must be most acceptable to the Whig party. . . . All the Tracts of Junius are admirably calculated for popular effect by enlightening the public mind with a simple array of facts in the most economical mode. . . . The mass, we might say, the volumes of information given in these Tracts, so powerfully condensed, and so admirably adapted, as they are for the people, for all, is almost incredible.”

*From the New Orleans Bee.*

“These little pamphlets are working infinite good, to the Whig cause, and we observe with pleasure, that they are becoming the standard publications among our party.”



# REDUCTION OF PRICE.

Being advised that it will be acceptable to the Whig public, and likely to afford a wider circulation of the Junius Tracts, the author has concluded to reduce the price from \$2 50 cents a hundred, and \$20 a thousand, as first fixed, to FIFTEEN DOLLARS A THOUSAND, which will be the price at the publishing office during the Presidential campaign of 1844, to all who order them in separate numbers.

The price of the Series, to the book trade, consisting of *eight* numbers bound together, comprising 128 pages, will be \$16 a hundred, which, re-tailed at 25 cents a copy, affords, as will be seen, more than the usual profit to the trade.

*New York, April 15, 1844.*

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CITY OF WASHINGTON, MARCH 4, 1843.

We, the undersigned, impressed with a conviction of the importance and effectiveness of Tracts, as a means of informing the people in matters appertaining to our national interests, and of the suitable qualifications of JUNIUS, author of "THE CRISIS OF THE COUNTRY," and of other papers emanating from his pen in 1840, the wide circulation and great usefulness of which, at that time, are well known to the public, hereby express the hope, that he may be able to renew his labors of the same kind for the coming contest of 1844; and we earnestly recommend to our Whig friends, and to Whig Associations throughout the Union, to second his efforts, if undertaken.

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